Representations of the Western Other In Early Arabic Novels (1900-1915)

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَى وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ
لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

سورة الحجرات الآية 13

"People, we created you all from a single man and a single woman, and made you into nations and tribes so that you should get to know one another. In God's eyes, the most honored of you are the ones most aware of Him: God is all knowing, all aware."

From The Holy Qur'ān, The Private Quarters (49:13)

Dedication:

To my Mother whose moral support has been essential to my success.

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TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

Anglicised spellings of commonly used names and locations have been retained for the ease of use in an English language text. In such cases where I have found necessary to transliterate vocabulary, names, or titles from the Arabic I have conformed to the Library of Congress Transliteration System.

1. Consonants

Arabic	LC	Arabic	LC
ء	’	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

2. Diphthongs

ي (ay)	و (aw)

3. Vowels

Arabic (short vowels)	LC	Arabic (long vowels)	LC
ـَ	a	ا	ā
ـُ	u	و	ū
ـِ	i	ى	ī

CONTENTS

Abstract

This thesis studies the image of the West in a selection of Arab novels that were published between 1900 and 1915, when the Arab world was in the early stages of Western occupation. It is an attempt to form a clear picture of how Arab writers of that period viewed the West and its civilisation, by studying the novels' characters during that time. First attempts to write Arab novels were closely connected to the depiction of the 'Other', i.e.: the Westerner, using this image to express their hopes and pains.

The novels were timid messages addressed to the West, in the hope that it would reconsider its relationship with the East. This thesis aims to shed light on the significant changes in Arab thought in the early 20th century and how Arab intellectuals came to view the West. These changes were preceded by a state of fascination with everything that came from the West; technological inventions, political and economic systems, and even social conditions. The writers were extremely concerned with women's rights, comparing the living conditions of Western women with the poor and backward conditions of Eastern women. It is hoped that this research will serve as a foundation for further research in this field, and that further studies can be carried out on the views expressed through these novels.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 The Reasons for Embarking on this Study and its Significance

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Chapter One

1.1 The Reasons for Embarking on this Study and its Significance

Man is unable to live in isolation from others of his kind as it is in his nature to socialise and band together with others for the basic instincts of self-preservation and propagation of the species.

During this interaction process, man forms an idea or a belief about others, as others would form an idea or a belief about him. This idea perpetuates from one individual to another such that they proliferate, and thus each group or community of people would have their own deeply-held perspectives and ideas about other separate groups and communities. This pattern can be seen across the full spectrum of scale, from the smallest family circles to the populaces of countries.

A population's idea about other populations may be realistic to a certain extent and based on actual facts, or it may be pure fiction and contrary to actual reality. In spite of this, human studies did not take an interest in this matter until the nineteenth century, when the intellectual fences surrounding people began to collapse and intellectuals began to move in various directions. This led to a more comparative study of the achievements and knowledge of various communities and peoples, whose effects were felt in the second half of the nineteenth century. Those studying culture began to compare different cultures with one another and noticed the fluidity of thoughts and customs between them. It is through this interface between separate cultures that the process of 'affecting and being affected' can be seen. The effect one populace may have on the culture of another is a

very interesting phenomenon, as is the perceived image the affected populace may have of the more dominant people.

The researcher, like everyone, has ideas and images about other people, groups or populations. The West, or the Westerner, is one of the people of whom I have formed an image since childhood as a result of what I have heard and seen, and as such, the matter of 'the Westerner's image in the Arabic novel' began to occupy my mind. After considering other dimensions, I realised that this kind of research entailed the approach used in comparative cultural studies. I aspired to specialise in comparative culture when I realised that studies in Arabic literature and culture have rarely come under this kind of treatment. The idea of studying the effects on the development of the Arabic novel and the currents which pushed and pulled it in the direction it went is central to understanding the representation of the Westerner and how close this representation is to reality.

There are some previous studies, mentioned below, which I have relied on for the basis of this thesis, although only indirectly due to their only partial relevance and similarity to my research.

The first study is: *Arabs and the West, A Study in the Modern Arabic Novel (1935-1985)* by Dr. Mohammed 'Ali Shawabkeh. The main body of this study includes the Arabic novels in which the protagonist or other main characters make direct contact with the Western world, either through travel abroad (as in chapters 3, 4 and 5) or through the presence of Westerners in the Arab world (part 1, chapter 6). But the study excludes

those Arabic novels which reflect Western influence or promote Western ideas and thoughts in the Arab world.

The second study is: *Ṣūrat al-Gharb fī al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya*, (The Image of the West in the Arabic Novel) by Dr. Sālim al-Ma'ūsh. In this complete general study, the author analyses Western influence in the Arabic novel.

In the first chapter the author attempted to describe differences in the societies of both the East and the West, and to search for continuity in human interaction across ancient and modern history. The author divided the second chapter into two sections. He called the first section: *The First Stage 1860–1914*. It covered the artistic features of the novel in that period with examples like: *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* by Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī and *'Alam al-Dīn* by 'Ali Mubārak.

The second section, which covers the period between the World Wars, is an artistic assessment of the literary works of the time including examples such as the novel *Zaynab* by Muḥammad Husayn Haykal, and *al-Ajniḥa al-Mutakassira* by Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān. He ended his study with a bibliography of the novels mentioned in the book. This book is very useful for the average researcher, owing to its reference to several novels without going into too much detail. It helped me greatly in choosing the novels for this study.

The last of the studies I used was: *Encounter Between East and West - A Theme In Contemporary Arabic Novels* by 'Issā T. Boullāṭa.[1] Having briefly analysed *Qindīl Umm Hāshim* (*The Lamp of Umm Hāshim*), *al-Ḥay al-Lātīnī* (*The Latin Quarter*) and *Mawsim*

[1] Published in *Critical Perspectives on Modern Arabic Literature*, by 'Issa Boullata, Washington D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1980, pp.47–60.

al-Hijra Ilā al-Shamāl (*Season of Migration to the North*), Boullāṭa concludes that these novels portray the confrontation between the cultures of East and West.

I relied on some sources and general references, including some which did not concentrate on modern Arabic literature but analysed Arabic literary forms before the modern age, such as the book *Taṭawwur al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya fī Miṣr* (1870-1938) by 'Abdul Muḥsin Badr[1]. I also relied on *Taṭawwur al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya fī Bilād al-Shām* (1870-1967) by Ibrāhim al-Sa'āfīn.[2]

The importance of this research is that it is the first to specifically study the image of the West in the Arabic novel in the first quarter of the twentieth century, specifically in the period between the years 1900–1915, whereas much of the research on the West in Arab literature focused on the last quarter of the nineteenth century, (such as the works of al-Ṭahṭāwī and 'Ali Mubārak) or the later period which saw the publication of *Zaynab* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, bypassing the early 19th century. This period was often considered a period of total faithfulness to translated Western novels. What concerns me here is the clear disregard of this period by the critics and those who studied this period, which I consider as the missing phase in the development of the Arabic novel. It is true that there are some researchers like 'Abdul Muḥsin Ṭāha Badr and Sālim al-Ma'ūsh who have made reference to some of these novels, but only briefly describing what some of them involve. This does not do justice to the value of these novels, either from a literary

[1] 'Abdul Muḥsin Ṭāha Badr, *Taṭawwur al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya fī Miṣr (1870-1938)*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1992, 5th edition, first published in December 1963.
[2] Ibrāhim al-Sa'āfīn, *Taṭawwur al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya fī Bilād ash-Shām (1870-1967)*, 2nd Edition, Beirut: Dār al-Manāhil, 1987. First published in 1979 by Dār al-Manāhil

point of view, or from a historical perspective, seeing as these novels represent a phase in the literature of the modern Arab renaissance period.

In my personal opinion, the disregard of this historical period by scholars is due to several factors:

1 The fact that there is often great difficulty in obtaining these novels and locating the places where they may be obtained.

2 Determining the period or the year when the novel was published is often difficult. This was a problem I personally faced, where one might find some novels under different names or issued in different years, in particular those serialised in periodicals such as *al-Hilāl* magazine or *al-Muqtaṭaf* magazine.

3 Another problem the researcher faces is when he discovers that the novel he intends to study is a translation of a foreign novel. For example, the novel *Ghādat Venice* by 'Azīz Fahmī[1] is a translated novel, but the researcher would require much investigating to determine this.

4 There is often some difficulty in reading the novels, where the researcher finds problems understanding a text due to an authors' poor style, where perhaps he might mix the spoken dialect with the formal language, or he might use some terms commonly used at that particular period of time, or foreign terms, generally Turkish or Western. In addition, the unstructured chain of events in some novels could present problems.

[1] 'Azīz Fahmī: *Riwāyat Ghādat Venice, Adabiyya, Tarikhiyya, wa Gharāmiyya* , Cairo: Matba'at al-Watan al-Asliyya 1903.

5 There was the nationalist element of where an author's loyalty was placed. Many novelists of the period were very well educated and were often journalists, reporting on events and trying to forward their own stances. In the case of Christian Syrians who immigrated to Egypt, the loyalty of some of them would be with the occupation forces at the time. Previous researchers may not have wished to study their works in detail because they believed that it was against nationalist Arab and Egyptian interests, particularly in the fifties and sixties of the last century when interest in studying the Arabic novel accelerated. At this time the Arab world was at the peak of its resistance to the foreign forces in its lands, and was raising the banners of Arabism so as to achieve independence.

Finally, the importance of this study stands out as being among the first to present to the Western reader the chosen novels of this study (if we exclude the novel *'Adhrā' Dinshway* that was translated into English with a short commentary by the translator but without any detailed study of it). This thesis provides a synopsis of each story such that they will be able to follow the events of the stories separate from the analysis. In addition each novel is studied in depth with the translation of many extracts from Arabic into English provided in a personal effort by the researcher himself.

1.2 Choosing the Novels

At the beginning, I restricted the novels chosen for this study to the years 1900–1915, relying in this on the book: *The Arabic Novel: Bibliography and Critical Introduction 1865-1995* by Ḥamdī Sakkūt and also on some of what was written about these novels, until I selected from them a selection I thought would represent a comprehensive image

of the West; then I began the difficult task of the research, both visiting libraries within the United Kingdom, or by travelling to Egypt and Syria to visit the libraries there. I encountered many problems in trying to track down many of the primary or secondary texts I required. As an example, I located a volume which contained one text I required, but unfortunately found that certain sections had been cut from the manuscript, whilst other parts were so worn as to render the text illegible.

Then after finding and reading the required set of novels, four were chosen from this set that fulfilled the following conditions:

1- The novel should be authored and not translated by the author who would claim it as his own, as in the case of *Ghādat Venice* by 'Azīz Fahmī[1].

2- The characters should not be exclusively Westerners or with Western names while they actually are Arabs, such technique is used by Niqūla Ḥaddād in *al-Ḥaqība al-Zarqā'*[2] to speak about what were those subjects at the time.

3- The Western characters in the novel represent major characters that would affect the flow of the novel's events, not vague secondary characters that could easily be replaced by Arab characters, as in the novel *Asrār Miṣr* by. Nīqūlā Ḥaddād

4- Some novels that have been over studied by other have been excluded for the purpose of the originality, as in the case of the novel *Ḥadīth 'Issā Ibn Hishām* by Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī.

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[1] 'Aziz Fahmi, *Ghadat Venice*, Cairo, Matba'at al-Watan al-Asliyya, 1903. The author did not mention which English novel that he translated from.

[2] Niqūla Ḥaddād, *al-Ḥaqība al-Zarqā'*, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1906.

After this elimination, each novel and its characters were studied separately and analysed in the form of elements and subjects, focusing on the Western characters and their personalities as well as the stance of each of the Westerners towards the Eastern characters and vice-versa. I also analysed the stance of the novelists towards Western civilisation through the opinions expressed in the novels, consequently succeeding in extracting a clear and full image of the West and the authors' interaction with it.

1.3 Research Questions and Assumptions

The main objective of this study was to highlight the Arab novelists' stance at the beginning of the twentieth century towards the West, through their descriptions of the West in their novels, and to shed light on Arab culture and literature in the period 1900–1915, which has till now not received the level of research it deserves.

There are many questions this thesis attempts to answer, such as: what topics were presented regarding the West in the period, 1900–1915? How did Arab novelists imagine the West through their depictions of the Western characters and what were the characters' positive and negative effects on the novels' events? Was there a balance in the depiction of the West's good and bad characteristics? What messages did the Arab novelists attempt to relay about the West through their novels? How did Arab novelists express their visions of the future relationship between East and West through their novels?

The Arab novelists presented their image of the Westerner in different forms, changing between good and bad. The Westerner is the role model whose civilisation should be

imitated in finance, industry and culture on the one hand, yet on the other hand, he is the strong materialistic person, lacking in compassion and mercy towards those who are weaker than he is; the one who wants everything for himself and seeks to further his interests by all means.

The East that was represented by the Arab novelists through their novels in that period of time was the one which had extended its arms to the West in order to build bridges of understanding. It had invited the West to lend a helping hand to the East at the time it most needed it, in order to begin a new page, its most important characteristics being forgiveness and love.

1.4 Research Plan

The eight chapters of this thesis comprise the following: the first chapter comprises an introduction, which states the importance of the research, its objectives, the questions it asks, the method used by the researcher in his study as well as including a historical background to the approximate period the thesis covers; the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century, showing briefly the political, economical and educational situation in the Arab countries, Egypt in particular.

In the second chapter, the research looks at the image of the East in the West, and I have divided this chapter into two sections. The first section covers the image of the East in Western sources, citing the most important sources from which the Western reader derived his image of the East. These sources are as follows: the Crusader Wars, which are considered to be the first interaction between the West and the East. These wars opened

for the West the gates to Arab and Islamic civilisation and were the most important channel by which culture and civilisation were conveyed from the East to the West. The second source was the Orientalist notion, and I briefly detailed its conception and promotion. After this, I spoke about the third source of knowledge of the East, that of missionary expeditions. The final source from which Western thinking derived its image of the East was *The Arabian Nights*.

In the second section of the chapter, I briefly discussed the image of the East in 19th century literary genres, where I cited numerous poems, stories and travel accounts by the most famous English and French writers of that century. The importance of this chapter lies in showing the image Westerners had of the East in parallel to my major topic of Western representation in Arab literature. It gives the reader a reflection of what was happening in Western literature during the period of this study so that a complete picture of both worlds can be seen.

The third chapter talks about the first attempts to discover the West in the modern age, and in particular the nineteenth century. This was through the religious leader of the first delegation from Egypt to the West, (France), Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī. His major work, *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, cannot be described as a novel so much as an important literary and descriptive document of the initial impressions he had of the West. He created the first images of the West in the modern age among Arab thinkers. The second book studied in this chapter is not of less importance. *'Alam al-Dīn* by 'Ali Mubārak who structured his work with all the information and observations he had seen in the West in

the form of a story. The two works are considered to be very important distinguishing landmarks when we study the Western image in the Arabic novel. Both works talk about the relationship of the East with the West and do not hide the feelings of admiration the authors felt for Western culture and modernity.

The fourth chapter is where the study of the chosen novels in the period 1900–1915 begins. It talks about the relationship of the coloniser with the colonised in Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī's novel *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*. It is set during the English occupation of Egypt, and is a good analysis of how the Western coloniser looks at the East generally, and his behaviour towards the colonised people. The chapter also presents the image of the colonised in the novel, and how they viewed the coloniser. The chapter then describes for us the state of the educated colonised elite and their position between their own people and the colonising West.

Finally, the chapter discusses the position of the author himself, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī. As he wrote this novel during the period of occupation, what was his style like and what was his stance on the occupation? Did he confront it strongly; was there in his style a kind of resistance and intensity? Or was he evasive so as not to offend the occupying forces?

The fifth chapter studies the position of the educated Eastern girl who has embraced Western civilisation and its promises of freedom, equality and women's rights, but remains attached to her Eastern roots. All this is discussed in Amīn al-Rīḥānī's novel,

Jihān (also known as *Khārij al-Ḥarīm)*. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first two sections present the two people who most affect Jihān's character. The first is Jihān's father, Reda Pasha, who has a traditional Eastern outlook that confronts Jihān and obstructs her ambitions and aspirations by constantly reminding her of her Eastern origins. She is constantly subjected to strict treatment by Rida Pasha who wants to restrain his daughter's ambitions as he thinks she is too engulfed in Western civilisation. We also find the character of Shukrī Bey, who is Jihān's cousin and her fiancé. He is an example of the character that Amīn al-Rīḥānī described as the devious, selfish Easterner whose self-interest came before his care of his fiancé, Jihān.

The second main influence on Jihān is the character of General Von Wallenstein, who played a hand in controlling and dominating the affairs of the Ottoman capital. This part of the thesis studies the image of the General that Amīn al-Rīḥānī depicted, which represents an example of the colonising Westerner. I also analyse Amīn al-Rīḥānī's view of the West; did he consider it to be a single entity or did he treat it as different nationalities and different countries?

The third part of the fifth chapter deals with Jihān's character as being between East and West; her behaviour towards her Eastern roots, her father in particular, and the Jihān who is fascinated by the example of the Western superman represented by the character of the General. Through the character of Shukrī and his connection with Jihān, Amīn al-Rīḥānī presents Jihān's position towards marriage and Eastern traditions and customs, as well as Jihān's embrace of Western values. But did the character of Von Wallenstein warrant this fascination or was it something else? This is what this section will try to answer.

The sixth chapter of the thesis deals with the study of the novel, *Fatāt Miṣr (The Maiden of Egypt)*, by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf. This novel discusses the relationship between the Western man and the Eastern girl, the position of the West and the East towards this relationship and how the West, represented by Henry, and his sister Dora, viewed the East. It also tries to uncover the author's view of this relationship and what he thought the East lacked in order to be at the forefront of modernity.

In order to highlight the West's image in the novel, the chapter tackled it from three focal points. The first of these is the West's view of the East through the character of Henry, and what his views were of the Eastern girl, as well as his sister's views of the East. The second focal point is the East's image from the author's point of view, his view of the East in general and how Ṣarrūf dealt with the character of Bahiyya in the novel. The third and last focal point discusses Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf's view of the West and his description of the features and characteristics of this civilisation, together with the message he had for his readers and the East, which contains in his view the solutions to the backwardness of the East.

The last chapter of the thesis also talks about the relationship between East and West, and the idea of intermarriage between them through the marriage of an Eastern man and a Western girl. The novel in question is Tawfīq Mufarrij's novel *Ghādat Berlin*, where the author depicts the story of Salīm, a Syrian in origin who went to the West to witness the progress achieved in Berlin. It is there where he meets Juliet. Mufarrij discusses the

factors that influenced this relationship, and what they can tell us about the meeting of civilisations.

This chapter also discusses the way Salīm saw the Western woman and what he saw in her that he could not see or find in an Eastern woman. Perhaps the most important point in the chapter is the discussion of Salīm's stance towards the West and his change from the one being fascinated by all things Western to the one who desperately tries to search for his own identity following certain events and problems that affected him. It was a shock that made him re-evaluate himself and look at the West in a different way than he had seen it before.

Finally, how did Tawfīq Mufarrij look at the West. Did he see it as one uniform bloc, and similarly did he look at the East as one landmass, or is it true that the way the West is seen depends on race, gender and country?

This thesis aims to answer all these questions in order to fully understand what Arab authors in the early 20th century felt towards the West at a time of rapid transformation and upheaval in the Middle East. Ultimately, the author's views of the West will also reveal a lot about their views of the East, their homeland, which was being subjected to many pressures due to the increased contact and conflict between East and West.

1.5 Historical Background

Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 was one of many strategic manoeuvres designed to jeopardize the British routes to India.[1] Although the campaign is considered by many writers to have initiated the beginning of the modern Arab renaissance, it also marked the beginning of increased expansionist activities of the West in the Middle East, eventually leading to the majority of the Arab countries coming under French or British domination.

The French occupation of Algeria began in 1830, while Britain occupied Aden in 1839. Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881, which was closely followed by the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Italy occupied Libya in 1911 and in 1920, Lebanon and Syria became French mandates whilst the British mandate comprised the areas of Palestine, Jordan and Iraq. Even Morocco, which had kept its independence for so long, became a target for the ambitions of the French and the Spanish who signed a secret agreement in 1912. Under this agreement, Morocco was divided into areas falling under their control, while Britain imposed its guardianship on the small Arab Gulf states under conventions dating back to the 1920s.[2] Thus, the period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries that this thesis covers was a very tumultuous and difficult time for the Arab world. Its countries were occupied and were under Western domination.

During this time, European domination of Arab countries was not restricted to the military sphere, but went beyond that to commercial control, where the larger part of the trade sector was in the hands of European companies and traders, predominantly the

[1] M. M. Badawī (ed.): *Modern Arabic Literature*, Cambridge: CUP, 1992, p.4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.5.

English and the French. German influence was also increasing with the growth of population and industry in Germany. However, groups of local tradesman played a big role in international trade and a dominant role in local trade. These were predominantly the Christian Syrian and Lebanese tradesman, the Jewish Iraqis and the Coptic Egyptians. In Morocco, the local Jews as well as other tradesmen with a long standing history in commerce dominated over local trade together with traders from Sousa in Morocco, the Mzab Oasis in Algeria, and those from the Island of Jarba close to the Tunisian coast.[1] However, European financial interests extended further than commercial ones, and among its first big investments were the loans given to the governments, followed by loans to other projects. This led to foreign financial domination. As investments in public services outreached the loans, foreign companies grew interested in all aspects of infrastructure in the Middle East. After the opening the Suez Canal in 1869, European companies became involved in all manner of areas such as the ports, trams, water, gas, electricity, and railway lines. There was little investment in agriculture, except for some parts of Egypt and Algeria where there was a regular demand for some produce; here agricultural management under European control ensured large and guaranteed returns. Similarly, investment in industry was also small, with the exception of certain consumer products and some operations of mineral extraction like phosphates in Tunisia and oil in Egypt.[2]

From the point of view of the population, most in the Middle East were country people, with the cities rapidly expanding, in particular the ports that facilitated trade with Europe,

[1] Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp.286-287.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.287.

such as Beirut, Alexandria and the Algerian coastal cities. As for the other cities, in particular the national and rural capitals, their growth was equal to the overall average. Cairo for example, doubled in size and remained the largest Arab city. The overall population in Egypt had also grown, but the average population of the other towns did not change much as migration from the countryside to the urban centres had not yet started except in very limited numbers.[1]

A large number of foreigners arrived in Egypt to work in various new institutions established during Khedive Ismail's reign. As many as 362,600 foreigners entered the country in a period of only eight years (1857-65), and this level of immigration continued. Bearing in mind the fact that the population of Egypt was around five million at the time, the proportion of Europeans in the country was huge. Many of the foreigners who settled in Egypt fashioned their social lives after their own habits and traditions. They enjoyed a high social status in the community and one can appreciate the magnitude of their impact on Egyptian society. The effect was twofold: first, their lifestyle with its exotic ceremonies, rituals, and values influenced the Egyptians; and second, the privileges they enjoyed awoke the spirit of rebellion in the native population.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the high influx of foreigners persisted: in 1880, 90,000 new foreign residents arrived in Egypt. This number rose to 112,568 in 1897, 216,576 in 1907 and 260,294 in 1917. By 1917, foreign citizens resident in Egypt constituted 25 per cent of Port Sa'īd's population, although they formed less than 2 per cent of total population. But more significantly, their share of national income was over

[1] *Ibid.*, p.294.

15 per cent, making the average income of a European nine times that of an average Egyptian. This phenomenon was by no means confined to Egypt. Because of its larger Christian minorities, the Levant, particularly Lebanon and Palestine, had known the influx of missionaries and foreigners for many decades.[1]

As a result of the interactions between the indigenous people and the European communities, a new pattern of life developed in the big cities, which reflected life in Europe. Men and women began to wear clothes in a different way; men gave up their old traditional dress and turbans for European styles. People got used to wearing these new clothes, particularly the trading class.

Some women were wearing French or Italian style clothes, which they learned about from periodical magazines, the shops of the cities, their travels, and schools. However, in 1914, very few women went into the streets without any kind of head or face covering.[2]

The flourishing of Arab literature, particularly in Egypt, was due in large part to the substantial steps that Egypt had taken in integrating with European civilisation at the end of Khedive Ismail's reign. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many Christian Arabs from the Levant began to immigrate to Egypt, either to escape Ottoman oppression or to seek better economic conditions. These newcomers took an active part in Egyptian cultural life through newspapers like Al-Ahrām and through books, publications and translating. They participated along with the Egyptians in a cultural and literary

[1] Ṣabry Hafeẓ, *The Genesis of Arabic Narrative Discourse - A Study in the Sociology of Modern Arabic Literature*, London: Sāqī Books, 1993, pp.50-51.
[2] Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, pp. 297-298.

renaissance, even though they had originally surpassed the Egyptians in terms of their admiration for Western culture in their original countries. These intellectuals began to work at translating European literature whilst also bringing about a revival in Arab heritage and traditions which had until then been neglected except by Western Orientalists.[1]

[1] 'Umar A. 'Umar, *Tārīkh Miṣr al-Hadīth wa al-Mu'āṣir (1517-1922)*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'rifa al-Jāmi'iyya, 1999, pp.325-326.

CHAPTER TWO

The Image of the East as portrayed in Western Writings

2.1 Introduction

2.2 The Image of the East in Western Sources

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2.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the development of the West's image of the East and is divided into two sections. The first section covers the routes by which ideas of the East came to appear in the West, citing the most important sources from which the Western reader derived his image of the East. These began with the Crusader Wars, which are considered to be the first Christian aggression on the Islamic world. These wars opened the doors to Arab and Islamic civilisation for the West and were the most important channel by which culture and knowledge were conveyed between both civilisations. The second source was academic Orientalism, which is briefly explained from its inception to its peak. After this, the third source, that of missionary expeditions, is detailed. The final source from which Western thinking derived its image of the East was the *Arabian Nights*, whose tales were circulated widely in Europe as interest in the Islamic world increased.

The second section of this chapter gives an overview of 19th century literature in the West which contributed to the ideas many Europeans had of those in the East. Some of these works took the form of stories or poems, designed to entertain the Western reader, often borrowing much from the *Arabian Nights* or other such romanticised Eastern imagery. Other works, such as the large body of travel literature of this time were designed to be informative and to give the reader a more 'accurate' picture of the East.

2.2 The Image of the East in Western Sources

The negative portrayal of Islam is prevalent in European literature, whether in the form of prose, verse or plays. Discussing the East with regards to its arts and traditions, Islam in particular, was seen by Westerners as important in planning

colonial strategies. However, the discourse on Islam and its civilization and heritage does not appear to have been objective or unbiased; rather, most writers seem to portray Islam as underdeveloped, degrading and a hindrance to progress. They describe the East as a backward and deficient part of the world, and speak of the great Eastern civilisations as having been obliterated. As for Islam, it was fabricated so as to jeopardize humanity and sentence it to misery; the prophet of that religion being merely a poet and a liar.[1]

2.2.1 The Crusades

The Crusades were the first vehicle by which an image of the East was transmitted to the West. Many of the events of these battles and interactions were described in detail by Western historians and writers.

The Third Crusade of 1187-1192 A.D is particularly considered a fertile realm for authors from England, France, Germany, Italy and other European countries. This is because the Third Crusade is considered to be the greatest of them all; large amounts of money were raised and huge crowds gathered from all over Europe after being called upon by the Pope. The army consisted of huge numbers of volunteers from Austria, Germany, Italy, England and France, and these soldiers were to bring back many stories and legends about the battles, Richard the Lionheart and Saladin. One such tale about the heroic acts of Saladin during the third crusade was the English story entitled: *Richard Coeur de Lion*, written in the 14th century A.D.[2] This story was a rhythmic epic that discussed the events of the third crusade in a European style, picturing the East and the Muslims in the Holy Land. Much injustice against Muslims is mentioned in the novel and it detailed the hideousness of the Crusader aggression

[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin Books, 1995. p.30.
[2] Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967, p.693.

and the Christians' attitudes. One such barbaric act at the hands of the Crusaders is recounted as follows:

> Richard, lying sick before Acre, demanding pork with an invalid's persistence. His attendants are in despair, because pork is not easily procured in a Mohammedan country. A crafty old knight hits upon a perfect substitute. He kills a plum young Saracen, and the Lionheart finds it excellent 'pork'. With a refinement of hospitality, he tries the new dish on his Saracen prisoners, and bids them to a state banquet, where each man's plate is garnished with the head of a particular friend. Richard himself presides at this feast, and gracefully carves a Saracen's head by way of encouragement.[1]

There is a similar story in a French book entitled *Histoire de la guerre sainte*[2], which recounts 'heroic' acts by Europeans known only for their savagery and barbarism. It retells the killing of Muslims by the Christians and the feasting on their flesh at royal banquets, a reference to an event during one of King Richard's invasions when he ordered his soldiers to kill all the Muslim prisoners[3].

In this work there are many historical mistakes, such as a reference to a field challenge that occurred between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart (it is well known that King Richard never met Saladin, neither in war nor in peace; the person who actually met King Richard was Saladin's brother)[4].

This and other similar stories strive towards exalting the Crusaders by considering any acts that inflict damage and grievance to Muslims as courageous, knightly and heroic. Examples of such stories are full of contrivance, myths and lies about the reality of Islam and the lives of the Muslims.

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[1] S. Lane–Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Beirut: Khayāṭs, 1964, p.377.
[2] D. Ambroise, *The crusade of Richard lion-heart*, translated from the Old French by Merton Jerome Hubert, New York: Octagon Books, 1976.
[3] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2004, Deluxe Edition, CD 2.
[4] King Richard offered to begin negotiations with Saladin, who sent his brother, Al-'Ādil to meet with Richard. For more details see: Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab historians of the crusades*, selected and translated from the Arabic sources.London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, p.225, also: Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, translated [from the German] by John Gillingham. London : Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 145, and S. Lane–Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p.301.

A great number of tales, plays and poems appeared in French literature in the Middle Ages filled with false legends and lies about the various Crusades.[1] The French writer Michael-Jean Sedaine (1719-1792 A.D) wrote a play entitled *Richard Cœur de Lion* in 1778 A.D. In it he praised the heroic acts of the King and his victories over the Muslims, despite the fact that King Richard and his commanders were stricken by failure during the confrontations. This was due to the questionable claims of Crusading armies who returned from battle with their own version of events. The story simply aims to praise the strength of Christianity and to portray the Muslims as weak

The French poet Graindo de Douadi composed poems such as *Chanson d' Antioche* and *Conquête de Jerusalem*, both of which appeared in the 13th century A.D.[2], detailing the first crusade.

Amongst the most notable tales in English Literature were those of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832 A.D) of which two novels, *The Betrothed* and *The Talisman* (1825), are stories about the Crusades, where the author shows disdain for the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) and the Muslims. He said that the Christians possessed the powers of wisdom and knowledge in the art of war, prudence, equinity and worldly experience whilst the Muslims were cowards.

The German poet G.E Lessing wrote a play called *Nathan der Weise* in 1778 A.D, which was about the Crusades during the time of Saladin. The play contained many historical errors, besides the degrading treatment of Islam and the Muslims, such as picturing Saladin as a coward who had asked for reconciliation with the Christians,

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[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica, 2004 Deluxe Edition* CD 2.
[2] Paul Harvey & J. Heseltine, *The Oxford Companion to French Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969, p.23.

led by Richard the Lionheart, on the condition that his sister, Sitt al-Shām was to be wed to one of Richard's brothers.[1]

These works are considered to have expanded the common images of chivalry and war, and no work has done this more than Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, in particular *The Knight's Tale*. Chaucer embellishes the strength of the Christian Knight and his ability to confront the Muslim warriors in the East.

This stereotyping of the Western man and his ability to challenge Easterners, as shown in this ethnic fanaticism, enforces the preconceived idea that the white man is more capable than others to withstand war and resistance, almost as if suggesting that white ethnicity is the reason for this strength.

2.2.2 The Orientalist Notion

The defeat of Christian Europe in the crusades caused the Jews and Christians to become more disdainful of Islam and the Muslims. The Church then called for revenge, and this materialised itself in the persistent action of confronting the spread of Islamic civilisation. This meant increasing the work and effort of some Orientalists, who intensified their study of the East in such a way that its weakening and subjection could be brought about.

2.2.2.1 The Concept of Orientalism

Orientalism is the study of Near and Far Eastern societies and cultures, languages and peoples by Western scholars. It can also refer to the imitation or depiction of aspects of Eastern cultures in the West by writers, designers and artists. In the former

[1] S. Lane-Pool, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp.397-398.

meaning the term Orientalism has come to acquire negative connotations in some quarters; interpreted to refer to the study of the East by Americans and Europeans shaped by the attitudes of the era of European imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries. When used in this sense, it implies old-fashioned and prejudiced outsider interpretations of Eastern cultures and peoples.[1]

The original connotation of the term orientalist was, in 1683, "a member of the Eastern or Greek Church": in 1691 Anthony Wood described Samuel Clark as "an eminent orientalian," meaning that he knew some oriental languages. Byron in his notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* speaks of "Mr. Thornton's frequent hints of profound Orientalism" etc...[2]

Orientalism as a field of scholarship that first emerged in the eighteenth century, when European scholars of the Enlightenment period consciously studied Asian languages and cultures to gain a richer understanding of the Middle Eastern literary and historical environment is which Judaism and, ultimately, Christianity, emerge.[3]

This field was most famously articulated and propagated by Edward Said's *Orientalism* in which he examines the processes by which the 'Orient' was, and continues to be, constructed in European thinking. Professional Orientalists included scholars in various disciplines such as languages, history and philology, but for Said the discourse of Orientalism was much more widespread and endemic in European thought. As well as a form of academic discourse it was a style of thought based on 'the ontological and epistemological distinction between the 'Orient' and the 'Occident'[4].

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[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica* 2004 Deluxe Edition CD2.

[2] A. J. Arberry, *British Orientalists*, London: William Collins of London, 1943, p.8

[3] Rich Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim world*, Indianapolis: Macmillan USA, 2003. Vol. 2, p.515.

[4] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, introduction.

Significantly, the discourse of Orientalism persists into the present, particularly in the West's relationship with 'Islam' as is evidenced in its study, its reporting in the media, its representation in g discursive mode, Orientalism models a wide range of institutional constructions of the colonial other, one example being the study, discussion and general representation of Africa in the West since the Nineteenth Century.[1]

Orientalsim however, is rarely used in the academy today, except for a few centres and journals that have retained the title. Instead, the field is identified by its component areas of study, such as Middle Eastern Studies, North African Studies, Iranian Studies, or South Asian Studies. In each area study, scholars employ a wide variety of interdisciplinary approaches and methodologies. For example, scholars who are trained in literature find it acceptable to incorporate gender studies, history, comparative studies, and other related forms of knowledge as part of their work. Most recently, theoretical approaches such as post-colonial theory or subaltern studies have played an important role in scholarly research.[2]

2.2.2.2 Missionary Expeditions

It has to be mentioned that there is a strong relationship between Orientalism on the one hand and missionary activity and colonial approaches on the other. This tight link helped to devise the Orientalists' methods by which they attempted to give Islam an unacceptably distorted image. The ideas of Orientalism were spread amongst the establishment, by missionary activities in hospitals, schools, colleges and social clubs. Also, these opinions were spread in as many forms as possible, in books, periodicals, magazines, presentations and conferences. Education was the greatest method of

[1] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-colonial studies : the key concepts*, London : Routledge, 2000, p.168

[2] Rich Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim world*, Vol. 2, 516.

spreading the missionaries' aims and Orientalist opinions among people of different nations, including the Muslim people those most in target. 'Umar Farrukh explains:

> The missionaries saw that preaching had to continue at all educational levels of society so as to reach those who would become the leaders of those people. If missionaries could attract some of those who were expected to become leaders in their countries, they could guarantee the missionary influence over all the people. Because of this, many American missionaries were set on establishing colleges in Istanbul, Beirut, Cairo and other Eastern capitals. With time, the Americans started to believe that these establishments, whether they were educational institutes or not, were to work in favour of American interests as expounded through preaching and by the missionaries.[1]

In fact this was exercised through trade, through the protection of religious minorities and through the cultural and educational work of the above mentioned Western missionaries. They opened schools in towns and villages, particularly in the Lebanon, in order to spread the European culture. For example in 1874 the Jesuit educational activities finished the founding of the University of Saint Joseph in Beirut, where eight years earlier, the American mission had already established a collage now known as the American University of Beirut.[2] Indeed these two educational institutions have exercised a strong cultural influence on the neighbouring countries such as Syria which has to many ties with Lebanon and other Arab countries, through their graduates, who became pioneers in the fields of journalism, education, administration, and even in the revival of Classical Arabic.

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[1] 'Umar Farrūkh, *al-Tabshīr wa al-Isti'mār fī al-Bilād al-'Arabiyya*, Beirut: Sharikat 'Alā' al-Dīn li al-Ṭibā'a wa al-Nashr, 1970. p.94.

[2] Hilary Kilpatrick,. *The modern Egyptian nove : a study in social criticism*, London: Ithaca Press for the Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, 1974, p.54

2.2.3 The Arabian Nights

The Arabian Nights expanded the collection of romantic themes in Europe, inspiring the metaphorical and verbal potential of Western writing. As a result, Arab themes or characters are found in such famous medieval works as Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*, and in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, translated by Andrew Lang.

The real influence of the *Nights* began, however, when Frenchman Antoine Galland's translation brought the full set of the tales to Europe in the early 1700's. In his *Les Mille et Une Nuits, contes arabes traduits en français*, compiled between 1704-1717, Galland tried to make the text more readable and appealing to Western tastes. His efforts were extremely successful. The volumes became popular in France and were soon translated into English and published in London. As mentioned earlier, *The Arabian Nights* are thought to have been responsible for the composition of famous European novels such as *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe and *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift. Other Western writers said to be influenced by the stories were Addison and Pope, followed by Reynolds, Sterne, Blair, Warton, Hawkesworth and Beattie, among others.[1]

The degree of influence *The Arabian Nights* has had over the centuries is almost incomparable. Few works of literature have been published in such diverse editions or have been referred to so often, implicitly or explicitly, as these tales. Apart from all standard book editions, *The Arabian Nights* have appeared as magazine serials and articles, comic books, children's stories and adult books. *The Arabian Nights* is the crowning literary success of the Arabs, but more than that, it has made an everlasting impression on Western and world culture. The tales carry the Arab legacy and give us

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[1] Naji B, Oueijan, *The progress of an image: the East in English literature*, American university studies. Series IV, English language and literature, .181, New York: P. Lang, c1996, p.42

a better appreciation of the customs and traditions of the Arab people. More than anything, *The Thousand and One Nights* has given the world a chance to feel the magical vision of fantasy and the essence of traditional realism all at once.[1]

The fantastic world described in the *The Thousand and One Nights* made some Westerners believe that it is a real description of the East, therefore the endless examples of stereotyping and fanaticising the East, as depicted in orientalist paintings and written works.[2]

2.3 The Image of the East in 19th Century Literary Genres

During the nineteenth century, several significant factors, historical and literary, promoted still further the development of Orientalist scholarship in England. Napoleon's unexpected invasion of Egypt (1798-1801) and Greece's War of Independence (1821-1828) brought a rapid expansion of the West's contacts with the East and turned British eyes once again Eastwards[3]. The growth of historical and scientific scholarship also advanced a careful and objective, empirical approach in dealing with Eastern peoples, cultures and lands. Accordingly, the British public demanded not only more material but also more reliable information about the East in general, and the Holy Land in particular. Moreover, the East conveniently suited the aspirations of Romantic writers to enlarge the sphere of their imagination. These factors pressed the Orient firmly into the British consciousness and further developed their genuine interest in the region.

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[1] Ibid, p.43

[2] For more details about *The Arabian Nights* and its influence on the Western writings, see Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio, *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism : perspectives from east & west*, London : I.B. Tauris, 2006.

[3] Naji B, Oueijan, *The progress of an image: the East in English literature*, p.67.

2.3.1 Poetry

Robert Southey:

Robert Southey (1774-1843) was interested in writing a work imitating *The Arabian Nights* in its structure. *Thalaba* (1801) involves a hero, (named Thalaba), who tries to destroy the evil forces represented by Doindaniel, through a series of adventures echoing those of the old Anglo-Saxon stories. Following the tradition of the Oriental tale, Southey decorates his poem with magicians, magical settings and objects. The flying carpet of Oriental stories is replaced by a flying car, which carries Thalaba to the depths of an abyss, and a magic boat, which carries him across the sea to Doindaniel's island. Thalaba fights with 'afreet' a harmful ghost, who has one eye ejecting fire, and much like the Anglo-Saxon hero, Beowulf, he encounters magic flames, which protect his father's sword.[1] Southey's *Thalaba* seems to carry the traditional heroic theme of Western mythology to new dimensions by ornamenting the poem with Oriental diction and decoration. Southey's allusions to Islam are quite impartial. In his work he seems to have had a desire to show off all the splendours of Islam. In his preface to the *Curse of Keherna* Southey notes:

> I began with the Mohommedan religion, as being that with which everyone who has read *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment* possessed all the knowledge necessary for readily understanding and entering into the intent and spirit of the poem. The design required that I should bring into view the best features of that system[2].

The poem received praise from Francis Jeffrey, who wrote in the first issue of *The Edinburgh Review*:

> We do not remember any poem, indeed, that presents throughout, a great number of lively images, or would afford so many subjects for the

[1] For a detailed discussion of the poem see B. P. Smith, *Islam in English Literature*, New York: Caravan Books, 1977, pp.196-201.
[2] B.P. Smith, *Islam in English Literature*, p.185.

pencil... The little episode of Laila is one of the most pleasing passages in the whole poem; though it is quite in the style of a fairy tale, and borders on silliness throughout.[1]

Lord Byron:

Lord Byron (1788-1824) was the only one among the Romantic poets to have visited the East, travelling to and living in Greece, Albania and Turkey. He was determined from an early age to journey eastwards and had read widely in the subject - the Holy Qur'an, and *The Thousand and One Nights*[2]. He particularly admired the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu for their openness and her attempt to combat Western prejudices about Turco-Muslim society. Byron followed her in his respect for truth and accuracy in the representation of foreign cultures.[3] His reading prepared him for a life in the East where, with his somewhat wild nature and unconventionality, he could feel more at home. He respected the people of the area and they respected him. He found the East attractive as it allowed him to escape from the restraining society he felt existed in the West. He delighted in its sunshine and clear air, Lady Byron noting that he often spoke of a mysterious necessity for his return to the East.[4]

Byron wrote a number of works with an Eastern-Mediterranean context, often around Italy or Greece, but also the so-called *Turkish Tales*: *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos* and *The Corsair*, each inspired by an event of which Byron had some personal knowledge. These works proved to be very popular with the public, who enjoyed being seduced by the wonders of the East. They were a landmark in Romantic writing on the area, which was now evoked as an earthly paradise where nightingales sang,

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[1] Francis Jeffrey, *The Edinburgh Review*, Edinburgh: Longman Vol.I, 1802, pp.80-82.
[2] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, Reading: Garnet Publishing Limited, 1999. p.31.
[3] Muḥammad Sharafuddīn, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism, Literary Encounters with the Orient*, London: Tauris, 1994. p.222. In general on Byron, pp.214-74.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

roses bloomed and breezes wafted the smell of incense. Byron evoked Goethe's vision of the Orient in the opening of his poem *The Bride of Abydos*:

> Know ye the land where the cypress and myrtle
> Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime.[1]

This climate, however, does not prevent men from committing evil, for the Muslim men in his works are dominating, virile heroes protecting their honour.

In the East, Byron's interest developed into a deep passion, which accompanied him all his life. His mobility, his natural tendency to act on every passing impulse and his adaptability to different conditions and situations made him more than a mere observer of the Orient[2].

Byron's main objective was to give the tales the proper local colours of the East, a purpose he achieved by being faithful to fact and his observations.

In Byron's Oriental works one *lives* the Orient rather than *learning* about it. The first of the tales, *The Giaour*, is founded on an actual incident in which the author participated. Byron interfered on behalf of a Turkish girl who was suspected of illicit love and saved her before she was to be sewn in a sack and thrown into the sea as Turkish custom of the time dictated. Before this event took place, however, Byron had heard about the sixteen beautiful Greek women who, under the orders of Ali Pasha, were drowned in the lake of Jannina in 1801, because they were suspected of diverting the attention of Ali's son from his wife.[3] Thus, Byron says in the '*Advertisement*' of the tale:

> The tale which these disjointed fragments present, is founded upon circumstances now less common in the East than formerly[4].

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[1] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.32.
[2] Thomas Moore, *The Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron.* London: John Murray, 1920, p.646.
[3] See Byron's notes in *Complete Works*, III, Mannheim, 1838, pp.422-23.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.39.

In the tale, Ḥassan, a Turk living in Greece, discovers that his beautiful wife Layla is in love with another man, the Giaour. His deep love for her does not prevent him from drowning Leila in the sea, as Turkish custom demanded. Seeking revenge, the Giaour attacks and murders Hassan in a pine grove beneath Mount Liakura as the latter is on his way to wed another bride. The Giaour then flees towards the sea and later takes refuge in a monastery where he spends the rest of his life haunted by visions of his beloved and his crimes. Thus, around an actual incident which he had observed in Athens, Byron wrote his own poetic story.[1]

Thomas Moore:

Thomas Moore (1779-1852) an Irish nationalist writer, is best known for his long narrative Oriental poem, *Lalla Rookh* (1814-1817), encouraged by the popular reception of Byron's *Giaour*. The verse introduces a young poet, the disguised prince of Bokhara, who tells Lalla Rookh the daughter of Aurungzeb, tales of love and adventure to win her heart. In the four intertwined stories, *'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan'*, *'Paradise and the Peri'*, *'The Fire Worshippers'*, and *'The Light of the Harem'*, Moore employs Oriental matter in much the same manner as Southey does, for decorative impact. The names of the heroes and heroines are Oriental, but their personalities and conduct are barely Eastern in nature. Byron Porter Smith describes Moore's characters as 'patriotic Irishmen in disguise'.[2] Some of his verses embody Oriental imagery commonly used by British poets writing on Oriental subjects. For instance, in *'The Light of the Harem'* Moore associates the fountain, the nightingale, the rose and the palm tree with his description of the Vale of Cashmere:

Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere?

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.423.
[2] B.P. Smith, *Islam in English Literature*, p.196. Smith presents summaries of the tales; see pp.196-201.

With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their waves?
When the water-falls gleam, like a quick fall of stars
And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars
Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
From the cool, shinning walks where the young people meet.[1]

Moore tries to imitate the authentic Oriental style of Lord Byron, but his lack of first-hand experience renders his use of Eastern diction and imagery artificial and lacking in local flavour.

Victor Hugo:

Victor Hugo (1802-85), the leader of the Romantic wave in France, turned to the East for its eroticism, to discover something new, to find an escape or release from the confines of Europe. It was a dream, an image or as he said, 'une pensée' which remained within his imagination. He had been drawn to Oriental subjects by wide reading on the area, absorbing influences from many of the sources mentioned above. While still quite young Hugo published his collection of poems on Oriental topics. *Les Orientales* [2] inspired a large number of later poets and contributed in a substantial way to turning French eyes towards the Orient as a source for the Romantics, even if it was through appearances rather than through reality. The poems of Hugo are full of colour and vitality; betraying their numerous influences such as popular Greek songs, Arabic, and Spanish poetry. They are absorbed into a patchwork of themes which have Eastern overtones, several betraying the almost clichéd picture of the Arab *hammams*, veils, deserts, sexual intrigues, murders and tyrants. Hugo is not concerned to convey any particular message but to write colourful, attractive poetry - to

[1] David Perkins, ed. *English Romantic Writers*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, INC., 1967, p.703.
[2] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.37.

restructure, as Edward Said says, 'the Orient through his art and make it visible through his language, rhythms and motif'.[1]

His comments on Middle Eastern men and women display no great originality, since they focus on specific scenes. In *Le Voile*, he betrays the Western obsession with the veil and its place in society. He writes of a young girl whose brothers kill her as a matter of honour as they accuse her of momentarily lifting her veil. She cries out:

> Oh my veil, oh my white veil.
> Do not flee my hands which are bleeding,
> My brothers, support my steps.[2]

The poem combines the idea of the cruelty of the East with the absolute inviolability of the veil. The young woman is helpless before male concepts of honour.

In *Sara la baigneuse*, the girl steps naked from the water of the *hammam*, yet the poem has a fresh rather than a sensual atmosphere. Hugo does not stress the sensuality, which usually characterises European descriptions of the bath. In *Ádieux de l'hôtesse arabe* he puts rather unlikely words into the mouth of an Arab woman of the desert who has a fleeting encounter with a passing European - perhaps a case of wishful thinking:

> 'If you do not return, think a little sometimes
> Of the daughters of the desert, sisters with a sweet voice
> Who dance barefoot on the dune.
> Oh beautiful, white young man, beautiful bird of passage.
> If you had wanted, perhaps one of us,
> Oh young man, would have loved to serve you kneeling
> In our ever open huts [sic].
> She would have done it soothing your sleep with her songs.
> The annoying midges'.[3]

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[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.22.
[2] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.38.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.38.

In *Sultan Achmet*, Hugo changes tack and stresses that there is an insoluble conflict caused by differences of religion between two people who love one another. In this example, the Christian woman withdraws from the arms of a Turk:

> For it is illegitimate
> The pleasure one has sought
> In the arms of a debauched Turk.[1]

In the European view, if pleasure cannot be obtained freely the Turk will force himself on unwilling captives (*Les Têtes du serail*).

> What are these cries? It is the hour when his infamous pleasures
> Have claimed our sisters, our daughters, our wives
> These flowers will wilt at his inhuman breath.[2]

Finally, in *Cri de guerre du mufti* Hugo puts into the Muslim judge's mouth words of contempt for the European military male:

> Crush, oh believers of the divine prophet,
> These tottering soldiers who get drunk on wine.
> These men who have only one wife.[3]

No actual muftī would call Muslims 'the nation of Muhammad' nor claim divinity for the Prophet.

Percy B. Shelley:

When Shelley (1792-1822) wrote a poem in 1817, he gave it the title *The Revolution of the Golden City; A Vision of the Nineteenth Century*. The poem was previously named after its two main characters, Loan and Cythna. However, an antagonistic response to Islam and Muslims caused the author to change the title of the poem to *The Revolt of Islam*. In that period, as in many periods following wars, the Western

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp.38-39.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

intellect was charged with animosity towards Islam and Muslims caused by the strength the Ottoman state represented. It contained many threats of the West's domination and the power of the Church. The poet had agreed with the publisher to call the poem *The Revolt of Islam*[1] because the poem had many descriptions of violent scenes as well as the strength, terror and tyranny of its rulers. The poet and publisher saw these traits, full of suppression, oppression and the grotesque to be Islamic characteristics and a fact of the Islamic Ottoman state. The situation in which France was living before the revolution was not much different and according to the poet and publisher's imaginations, it must have been the case with regards to the people who lived under Ottoman rule too. The poet has used this title while praising the French revolution in order to incite the peoples of the Islamic nation to carry out similar revolutions to bring down the Ottoman state's domination.

This view confirms the reason that made Shelley choose the title *The Revolt of Islam* for his poem, a fact which led Smith to say that the poet thought that the tyranny and subjugation described more closely Islamic domination and the Muslim religion.[2]

The poet described Muslims as the enemies of Christianity, infidels and heathens whose ruler was a coward who could not fight the Christians. He wrote:

> He dared not kill the infidels with fire
> Or steel, in Europe: the slow agonies
> Of legal torture mocked his keen desire:
> So he made truce with those who did despise
> The Expiation and the sacrifice,
> That, though detested, Islam's kindred creed
> Might crush for him those deadlier enemies;
> For fear of God did in his bosom breed
> A jealous hate of man, an unreposing need.[3]

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[1] See G. M. Matthews (ed.), *Shelley*, London: Longmans, 1970. p.13.
[2] B. P Smith, *Islamic English Literature*, New York: Caravan Books, 1977. p.92.
[3] C.D. Locock, (ed), *The Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Vol. II*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1911. pp.384-385.

Leigh Hunt:

Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) wrote *Abou Ben Adhem* (1838) and *Mahmoud* (1823) and portrayed positive Eastern attributes such as wisdom, justice and love of God. In *Abou Ben Adhem*, (which translates as: *'The Father of Ben Adhem'*), an angel appears to Ben Adhem in a dream and tells him that he is writing 'in a book of gold' the names of those who love the Lord. Ben Adhem asks whether the angel has written his name in this book, and the angel replies that he has not. The author then writes:

> I pray thee then،
> Write me as one that loves his fellow men.
> The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
> It came again with a great wakening light،
> And showed the names whom love of God had blessed،
> And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest.[1]

This short poem carries the germ of Eastern wisdom which was often implied in single episodes related by Eastern poets or story-tellers whose main purpose was to instruct their audiences in knowledge, valour and love of God.

2.3.2 Narrative Literature

The Talisman, or 'The Spell', by Sir Walter Scott is considered to be the only novel that focused on the discussion of Islam and Muslims, particularly the character of the Muslim leader, Saladin. It tells the story of the talisman that the Muslim Sultan had put around Richard the Lionheart's neck. The story starts by introducing the character of the Christian Knight, Kenneth (of the Crouching Leopard) and the freedom-fighter, the Muslim Sheerkohf Following duals that took place between them, each one promised to be the best friend and companion of the other.

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[1] David Perkins, ed, *English Romantic Writers*, p.711.

After discovering that his Muslim friend was not as bad as he thought, Kenneth says:

> 'I well thought ... that your blinded race had their descent from the foul fiend, without whose aid you would ever have been able to maintain this blessed land of Palestine against so many valiant soldiers of God. I speak not thus of thee in particular, Saracen, but generally of thy people and religion. Strange is it to me, however, not that you should have the descent from the Evil One, but that you should boast of it'.[1]

Indeed the Saracen does boast of tracing his race's line back to Iblis, the Muslim Lucifer. But what is truly curious is not the feeble historicism by which Scott makes the scene 'medieval', letting Christian attack Muslim theologically in a way nineteenth century Europeans would not (or not so explicitly); rather, it is the airy condescension of damning a whole people 'generally' while mitigating the offence with a cool 'I don't mean you in particular'.[2]

When Sheerkohf heard the news of the King of England's illness, and of the concern that his friend Kenneth had, he promised to ask Saladin to send his personal doctor to treat the King. Regarding the Muslim doctor's prescription for Richard, Scott writes in one of the scenes about one the king's surrounding personality quoting him by saying to King's Richard wife:

> Be aware my Lady, it is a dish choicely cooked,' he said, 'to the palate of King Richard, and I cannot but have my suspicions of the wily Saracen. They are curious in the art of poisons, and can so temper them that they shall be weeks in acting upon the party, during which time the perpetrator has leisure to escape. They can impregnate cloth and leather, nay, even paper and parchment, with the most subtle venom.[3]

Regarding Richard's adherence to Christianity and his admiration of Saladin, Scott wrote that the King's view was that the Sultan had lost his way in choosing Islam as his religion, and that he, Richard the Lionheart, would make the Sultan embrace

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[1] W. Scott: *The Talisman*, London: Henry Frowde, O.U.P., 1912, p.30.
[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.101.
[3] Ibid, p.99

Christianity by cleansing him with holy water from his warrior's helmet and then giving him the cross on his sword's handle; only then would the Sultan realise the mistake he had made in being a Muslim:

> I will convert him to Holy Church with such blows as he has rarely endured. He shall recant his errors before my good cross-handled sword, and I will have him baptized in the battle-field, from my own helmet, though the cleansing waters were mixed with the blood of us both.[1]

Thus we find that Scott had used some historical facts as material for his novel, which he used as a method to attack Islam. He saw Muslims as having lost their way in choosing their religion and that Christianity was the only true path. The whole novel contains phrases which ascribe to Muslims such crimes as infidelity, atheism, Godlessness and bad manners.

As for Thomas Hood (1799-1845), in his short stories entitled *National Tales*, there is a story about the East entitled *The Tale of the Harem*, published in 1828, which tells the story of an Italian singer who worked for a Sultan in his palace. The singer tried to save the life of an Italian girl who was among the Sultan's harem. His name was Benito, and he was sending the girl, Angelina, messages through the songs he sang. He said in one of his songs, 'in the wars between Muslims and Christians where the Muslims were defeated in nine out of ten battles, they [the Muslims] succeeded on that occasion to imprison two beautiful Christian girls. This is what these infidels, atheists do'.[2] In another song the singer says: 'The singer Benito was a prisoner with the atheist Muslims, who took him to the Sultan in Istanbul who bought him and put

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[1] Walter Scott, *The Talisman*, p.97

[2] Thomas Hood, (ed), *Son and Daughter-The works of Hood, Comic and Serious, In Prose and Verse*, London: Edward Moxon, 1862, p.33.

him in his service'.[1] This is how the author paints a picture of the Muslims in his stories, ascribing the mistreatment of non-Muslims to the teachings of Islam.

Of the Roman period, one scholar who wrote about Islam is the Orientalist Edward Upham who wrote a number of books about the East and Islam. Among these are: *The History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, and *The History of the Ottoman Empire*. In his story about Islam, '*Karmath, an Arabian Tale*', published in 1827, the author expressed his feelings towards the Abbasid Caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd.

The story talks about *Karmath,* a wizard who tried every method to kill his mortal enemy, Harun al-Rashid. He personifies Islam in the character of the Abbasid Caliph. The author discussed Islam candidly in the novel's introduction saying: 'The Prophet Muḥammad told the Arabs in the message of the Qurān; where strength, courage and freedom are found among Arabs, it brought them together under his brigade and they found themselves as one nation and a striking force that speaks the voice of the Prophet. They all got together with the sword in one hand and the Qurān in the other, the blazing enthusiasm among the Arabs flared, and they were able to show their efforts and strength to affirm the faith of Muḥammad and his Caliphs who followed him and achieved the highest authority in the East'[2].

The author comments: 'Islam was perpetuated by force, wars and with the sword and therefore it is not a religion of security or peace'. The author continued to say that the Messenger (PBUH) had come up with the Qurān by himself and that it was not an inspiration from Allah the Almighty. With this introduction to Islam and the Messenger, he proceeds to talk about the strength of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp.35-36.
[2] Edward Upham, *Karmath: An Arabian Tale*, London, N.P. 1827. p.11.

saying that it was the Prophet who had instilled this strength in him and in those Caliphs who followed him, dominating people and placing their necks under the blades of their swords. Hārūn al-Rashīd did not know anything except the dominance of force and tyranny, he used to kill his enemies and displace their families and make orphans out of their children. This behaviour drove the wizard Karmath to seek and to kill this tyrannical Caliph so as to rid the people of him. With this, the author concludes by saying that this was the destiny of the people in the East under this despotic regime and under the Sharī'a law of Islam[1].

James Flecker commented that he had also been inspired to picture images of the Islamic East in his literary works.[2] In one of the short stories he wrote, entitled *Mansour*, Flecker writes of the Ottoman Sultan who had assigned a group of his men to visit the King of China, loading them with gifts with the intention of spreading the word of Islam. In the events of this story, Flecker portrayed Muslims very badly, implying that the Islamic religion was full of myths and delusion. On one occasion, when Mansour met one of the kind Muslims, they greeted each other with the traditional Islamic salutation. Though Mansour replied with full respect, the author wrote that: 'Muslims are to be always doubted in their intentions.[3]

In another story entitled *The Bus in Istanbul*, Flecker pictures a bus which had been discarded by the British government in Istanbul. On these buses, especially on their inner sides, were pictures and scenes of some districts in London and a map of the city showing its streets and bus routes. The author speaks about how these scenes had roused his feelings of longing for this city of well-being, tranquillity and beauty, in

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.341.
[2] James Elroy Flecker, *Collected Prose*, London: Heinemann, 1992. pp.70-80.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp.70-80.

comparison with the disgust and despair he felt in Istanbul, with its miserable Muslim inhabitants.[1]

The author says in the course of the story that 'the Circle Wood district, with all its romantic evenings, where employers return in the evenings to have their delicious meals, kiss their beautiful gentle wives, and sleep peacefully and restfully, is worth all what is said about the golden East'. Flecker's prosaic writings glorify the Christians and the Europeans, saying that they are civilized and educated people characterised with indulgence towards religion and ethics, unlike the Muslims.[2] We find proof of this when he speaks about Lebanon, saying: 'Lebanon reminds the reader that it is a land honoured to be ruled by a Christian leader, yet Beirut remains a part of Turkey'.[3]

It is known that when Flecker was asked about the East and Muslims, he replied: 'I hate the [Muslim] Turks, because I am a modern and a civilised man, and nobody likes them except the Catholics. Why was Turkey such a fetid country? And why were Turks such unfaithful people? It is the twaddle of Islam'.[4] He continues to talk about the Crusades and Saladin saying: 'Saladin stays the person that contested his sayings with all tortuosity'.[5]

W.S. Gilbert (1836 - 1911 A.D) is considered one of the great theatrical authors much mentioned in overviews of English literary history. He had written a few musical plays and poems. In one of his musical plays entitled *Ben Allah Achmet* he portrayed

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[1] Hellery Flecker, (ed), *Some Letters from abroad of James Elroy Flecker*, London: Heinemann, 1930. p.62.
[2] James Elroy Flecker, *Collected Prose*, p.72.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.72.
[4] Hellery Flecker, (ed), *Some Letters from abroad of James Elroy Flecker*. p.100.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.100.

the story of a Muslim man called Al-Pasha Achmet who fell in love with an English woman called Emily MacPherson. Another character, a Christian doctor called Dr. Brown was also in love with Emily, and both the doctor and the Pasha knew the other was his rival for her love. It so happened that the Pasha was sick one day and called for a doctor. Dr. Brown came to the Pasha's treatment:

> One day that Turk he sickened sore,
> And suffered agonies oppressive,
> He threw himself upon the floor
> And rolled about in pain excessive
>
> At length a doctor came and rung
> (As Allah Achmet had desired)
> Who felt his pulse, looked up his tongue,
> And hemmed and hawed and then inquired.[1]

Here we find that the author pictures this Muslim as a swindler, who had planned to kill the doctor who competes with him for the love of the girl. The author then uses the irony of the Muslim character having killed the wrong man to further discredit him:

> You'll send for me when you're in need
> My name is Brown - your life I've saved it
> 'My rival!' Shrieked the Invalid
> And drew a might sword and wared it.[2]

And in an acting poem entitled *Pasha Bailey Ben*, Gilbert tells of another Muslim character (the Pasha of the title), and of his importance in society and his achievements in life. In his description of the character, the author focused on what he thinks the passive behaviour of a Muslim personality is, writing:

> A proud Pasha was Bailey Ben
> His wives were three, his tails were ten
> His form was dignified but stout
> Men called him 'Little Roundabout'.[1]

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[1] W.S Gilbert, *The Bab Ballads*, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970. pp.113-114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.114.

The author criticizes Muslims for marrying several wives, then continues by comparing the Pasha with a beast, saying:

> A confident had Bailey B
> A gay Mongolian dog was he
> I am not good at Turkish names
> And so I call him Simple James.[2]

Thus, he describes the Muslim character as friends with a dog, almost as if they are on the same level. He further degrades the Pasha by detailing the fact that he had employed a Christian clerk, indicating that those of the author's religion are superior to the unintelligent Muslims:

> Good Pasha Bailey kept a clerk
> (for Bailey only made his mark)
> His name was Mathew Wycombe Coo,
> A man of nearly forty-two. [3]

2.3.3 Travel Literature

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and the rapid expansion of the West's contacts with the East encouraged Western travellers to visit and observe the Eastern peoples who, in the minds of Westerners, represented the peoples mentioned in the Old and New Testaments. Thus, the fashion of travelling to the Levant became increasingly popular and travel accounts became a distinct form of literature.

Chateaubriand:

Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), who visited Palestine, Egypt and Tunisia in 1806-7, set the fashion in France for Oriental travel literature. Amongst his many works his *Itineraire de Paris a Jerusalem* describes the long journey he made through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Tunisia and Spain. Despite the fact that his book contains

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.169.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.169.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.170.

long descriptions of classical and archaeological sites, the author begs the reader not to regard it as travel literature, rather as *mémoires d'une anneé de ma vie.*[1] He read widely in existing travel literature but he did not claim to be an expert, for he believed it took years of study to properly understand the manners and customs of other peoples. Despite many passages of rich description, of 'habitual picturesqueness', the book is really an exploration of himself. As he admits in the introduction *'je parle éternellement de moi'* and his trip was an opportunity to explore his inner self in an exotic setting. Throughout his life he was concerned with this search for himself - egoism his master passion[2] - and for the short period 1806-7, after a frustrating stay in England he was able to leave behind France and his involvement in its tangled politics. The Middle East was an escape and a place to discover new imagery and it was, strangely, the direct route between two mistresses. Chateaubriand discarded one, the Marquise de Custine, in France, travelled part way with his wife, then rushed through the Middle East to Spain where a new mistress, Natalie de Laborde, was waiting for him. In this way, for Chateaubriand the Middle East was the stopping place between two erotic experiences.[3]

He did not travel with his eyes closed or only fixed on distant Spain. Some of his descriptions were of the clichéd East of *'bains, parfums, danses, delices de L'Asie'*,[4] but he did not ignore the poverty or misery (as Kabbani claims[5]) brought on Greece by the Ottomans or the permanent insecurity of the Christians in Palestine under the Turks. He was dismayed by what he considered the indiscipline of the locals, particularly in personal behaviour: 'of liberty, they know nothing; of propriety, they

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[1] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.35.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.35.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.35.
[4] Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient*, London: Macmillan, 1986. p.30.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.30

have none; force is their God'.[1] In leading the way in the form of the French voyage of self-discovery to the East, his work also marked a transition from the older classical to the romantic school of literature, where freer rein was given to private fantasy and to self-absorption. As Edward Said observes, 'what matters about the Orient is what it lets happen to Chateaubriand, what it allows his spirit to do, what it permits him to reveal about himself, his ideas, his expectations'.[2]

Lamartine:

Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869) was likewise a transitional figure, caught somewhere between eighteenth-century classicism and full-blooded Romanticism. Poet, traveller and statesman, he claimed that he had always had a longing for the Orient: 'All my life the Orient had been the dream of my gloomy days in the mists of the country of my birth'.[3] He wrote that he had been born an Oriental and that he would die one, and that the Orient rather than France was his home country - the 'Patrie' of his imagination .

In 1832 he set out with his wife and daughter for Greece, Lebanon and Palestine.[4] He left detailed notes on the sites he visited and the people he met, according to one critic - Edward Said - always very sentimental. The same critic stigmatised some of the episodes as mere inventions. Edward Said labels him an incorrigible maker of an imaginary Orient.[5] This is not quite true as his work does contain many descriptions of the Orient he witnessed, as with King Lake, albeit coloured by personal predispositions. He notices the women of the country, but as he is with his wife he is

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[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.172.
[2] Ibid, p.173.
[3] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.36.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.36.
[5] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.177.

not seeking sexual adventures. The most exotic and ironic episode is a lengthy meeting and eccentric conversation with Lady Hester Stanhope.

Lamartine was an early supporter of the colonisation of the East. Following in the footsteps of Bonaparte, he suggested that the local Christians of the area could be used to bring about a transformation of the area *pour remuer l'Orient.*[1] He thought it was the right time to launch a European colony in the heart of Asia in order to bring in modern civilisation and form the core of an immense empire. Unlike other writers he thought that Turkey and Islam would cooperate in this venture. This was a striking difference in his approach: 'The Turkish population is sound, *bonne morale*; its religion is not as superstitious or as exclusive as has been painted ... Islam can enter, without effort or trouble, into a system of religious and civil liberty - it is moral, patient, resigned, charitable and tolerant by nature'. This is different from Said's summary of Lamartine's view of Muslims as 'lazy... capricious, passionate, and futureless'.[2]

The former view of Lamartine could be right. When Lamartine thought that "Turkey and Islam would cooperate in this venture" he does not mean Muslims as in his *Souvenirs, impressions, pensees et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient* (1835), he praises the depth of the Muslims faith, charity and justice and claims that the principles and teaching of the Holy Qur'ān are essentially no different from those of the Bible.[3]

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[1] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.37.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.36. See also Edward Said, *Orientalism*. p.178.
[3] Naji B, Oueijan, *The progress of an image: the East in English literature*, p.70.

Nerval:

Gerard de Nerval (1808-55) is another significant figure in the history of French Orientalist writing. Together with Flaubert, he devoted his most vivid accounts of travel to Egypt. His short life was touched by eccentricity, insanity and eventual suicide. His nervous temperament never recovered from a violent passion he felt for an actress who married a rival. Consequently he set off on his travels leading an irregular and eccentric life until he reached the Middle East in 1843. He had studied Arabic and Persian as a boy and had read widely in the field of Oriental sources. Nerval was inspired to follow the steps of other French Romantics to a region, which he believed he knew and understood - claimed as another *patrie*. In the Orient he might have felt at home yet he felt strangely ill at ease because he found what he expected but it was not always easy to interpret. Behdad describes Nerval's wanderings as a vacillation between the search for experience in the Orient and the melancholic discovery of its impossibility.[1] Edward Said is less sympathetic, and criticises him for his perverse vision of the Orient.[2]

Among the exotica Nerval went in search of, the *'true feminine'* - the veil and the hidden, held special fascination for him. He wished to lift the veil in order to discover what lay beneath it; he almost went as far as to marry the daughter of a Druze sheikh. Wandering through the Cairo bazaars, he was mesmerised by the colours of the women's dress, by glimpses of their hair, ears, feet and jewellery, yet frustrated by the ubiquitous veils, ramparts which hermetically sealed off their wearers. Veiled yet free, they wandered in their thousands through the streets, bazaars and gardens alone, in twos and threes, with children.

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[1] A. Behdad, *Belated Travellers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1994. p.15.
[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.180.

Nerval was sure that European women did not have as much freedom in practice. He imagined that behind the veils were passionate eyes awaiting him adorned with all the cunning of art. The beautiful women were a mystery, yet he believed they allowed glimpses of themselves to titillate the European voyeur. Only the less attractive ones hid themselves. 'It is really the country of dreams and illusion', he sighed.[1] Nerval had thought that in Cairo he would be able to see beautiful women after visiting Alexandria where veils had only enveloped shadows. In Constantinople white gauze had allowed him to guess at the features of those he described as 'gracious and coquettish nuns'.[2]

This continued frustration provoked him to dream of tearing off the veils, thereby asserting an imagined European male's right to penetrate the mystery of the Oriental female. Unable to do so he began to enquire about the realities behind the veil and the harem - unlike many other writers he warned against misconceptions about Muslim sexual customs. He was quickly disabused of one of his prejudices by an angry Turkish sheikh. Nerval provocatively asked whether a Muslim husband took his two or more wives to bed at the same time:

> 'Two or three' - shouts the sheikh – 'what dogs do you believe would act like that? By God, is there a single woman, even infidel, who would consent to share the honour of sleeping near her husband? Does one behave like that in Europe?'
> 'No, but Christians have one wife and they suppose that the Turks, having several, live with them as with one only'.
> 'If there were Muslims so depraved to act as Christians suppose, their legitimate wives would immediately demand a divorce'.[3]

Another sheikh from whom Nerval rented a house in Cairo was unhappy about him living without a wife, suggesting that a young man of his age should be married

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[1] Gérard de Nerval, *Journey to the Orient*; selected and translated from the French and with an introduction by Norman Glass, St Albans: Panther, 1973. p.109.
[2] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, p.40.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.40.

several times. Nerval replied that he would only marry one at a time, to which the sheikh responded:

> 'Oh, I'm not speaking of your European women they are for everyone and not you. Those poor mad creatures show their face quite naked, not only to those who want to see it but to those who don't... Imagine, in the streets all the women look at me with passionate eyes and some even push immodesty so far as to want to kiss me!'[1]

Nerval replied that the sheikh was confusing the interested eagerness of some women with the honest curiosity of the greater number. He believed that dancers should come to the house to entertain the men and that a good Muslim could dream of paradise where there would be real beauties - pure and spotless - who alone would be worthy to be the eternal brides of true believers. From these remarks Nerval deduced that Muslim men despised their women and projected their love onto imperishable, imagined beings. They denied that women had souls and hoped to realise their dreams in heaven.[2]

Whether he was right in this view or not, he did at least try to interpret Muslim marriage in a more favourable light. In conversation with the French consul he maintained that Europe was wrong in its ideas about Muslim sexual behaviour. 'The life of the Turks is for us the ideal of power and pleasure but it is not so. Men behave well, as the law regulates the social and moral order and as it demands nothing impossible, they make it a point of honour to observe it.'[3] He adds: 'I thought about the mysteries of the harem; here was an illusion we should drop about its delights, the omnipotence of the husband or master, charming women uniting to make one man happy. Religion or custom temper this ideal which has seduced so many Europeans'.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.40.
[2] Gérard de Nerval, *Journey to the Orient*, pp.125-7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.224.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.226.

Nerval was convinced that the gay tales told in cafes about amorous adventurers disguised as women belong more to Arab imagination than Turkish morals. Also, adultery hardly exists, as a Muslim would find it revolting to possess a woman not entirely his.[1] He did not believe that many Christian-Muslim sexual encounters took place, as the risk was too great; a Muslim woman caught *in flagrante* in her husband's house would risk death.

Nerval believed that Muslim law contained nothing which reduced married women to a state of slavery or subjection.

> Their beliefs and customs differ so much from ours that we can only judge them from the perspective of our own relative depravity. If one understood the dignity and the very chastity of the relations that exist between a Muslim man and his wives, one would renounce the whole voluptuous mirage that was created by our eighteenth century writers.[2]

This clear and precise statement, so different from the usual prejudice about Oriental mores, does not seem to be fully accepted by later critics such as Said or Behdad. Nerval was trying to make a fairer judgment. Said concentrates more on what he sees as a dream-quest and the fugitive woman central to it[3]. It is hard to find mention of Nerval's attempt to understand in a less judgmental manner. Behdad seems grudgingly to accept that Nerval is making an effort that he finds contradicted by other aspects of the text given far more importance by both Behdad and Said. Nerval's remarks here do not chime well with the overall thesis of Orientalism and are less than fully recognised.

Flaubert:

Gustave Flaubert (1821-80) was the Romantic writer who did most to foster the notion of the Middle East as a place of sexual fantasy and experience for the French.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.228.
[2] As quoted by Behdad, *Belated Travellers*, p.31.
[3] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.184.

Flaubert's fascination with women extended to those of the Orient and he shared with others the idea that the Orient was associated with sexual adventure and was eager to experience its supposed delights in person.

His book on his Eastern experiences, *Notes de voyage*, is a mixture of lyrical passages, travel reporting and intimate descriptions of sexual encounters. The sexual sections - particularly his relationship with Kuchuk Hanem, a dancer and prostitute - have given the book certain notoriety. It was a loveless coupling which he consummated with a mixture of repulsion and fascination. He had discovered that ordinary meetings with Egyptian women were impossible and so he had to seek them where possible - in brothels. He met Kuchuk in Esneh, south of Luxor on the Nile. She entertained him in her house with her dancing: 'great and splendid creature ... in pink pantaloons, only a dark violet gauze round her torso'.[1] She fascinated him, and he relished the prospect of purely physical pleasure. The copulation is described in unlovely detail, one-sided and entirely interpreted through Flaubert. He had other encounters with dancers in Aswan, for example, with the prostitute Hadely who seemed particularly unattractive: 'the whole ensemble had an effect of plague and leprosy'.[2] He travelled around Egypt seeking out the unclean, and he duly noted the ancient Egyptian wall paintings with their deliberate lubricity. So, dirty pictures existed even so far back in antiquity, he concluded.[3] (But these weren't so lubricious to the ancient Egyptians, for whom sex and procreation were essential features of their religion. Their pictures of a god with an erect penis were a symbol of the daily recreation of life, and a feature carefully expunged by sensitive nineteenth-century exhibitors and archaeologists).

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.185.
[2] Francis Steegmuller (trans. and ed.), *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour*,London: Michael Haag, 1983, p.197.
[3] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.185.

Did Flaubert return satisfied after his journey to Egypt? He purchased many souvenirs to remind him of his trip, in fact he seemed to need to buy such objects as 'locks of women's hair with their ornaments'[1]. He put his experience to good use in his later novels, where the Orient as a place of sexual fantasy looms large.

> As for Kuchuk Hanem, ah, be reassured and put right at the same time your oriental notions. Be convinced that she proved nothing at all; in the moral sphere I assure you, in the physical even I doubt it. She found us to be good foreign gentlemen because we left there quite a few painters, that's all. The oriental woman is just a machine, nothing more; she makes no difference between one man and another. Her existence and her circle revolve around smoking, bathing, painting her eyebrows and drinking coffee.[2]

Edward Lane:

There are no English equivalents of the Oriental works of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Nerval and Flaubert, explorations of the self in an Oriental setting except Edward Lane (1801-76) who was using the East as a background to musings on his own progress. His book *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* is a work of detailed description based on his long-term residence in Egypt and a deep knowledge of Arabic, from which tortured musings on the progress of self-discovery are quite absent. In Lane we can see the beginnings of later, numerous socio-anthropological studies of Middle Eastern society. Unlike Flaubert, Lane was not in Egypt to seek out sexual adventure, although he was not averse to passing on scandalous gossip and hearsay knowledge of Cairene sexual activities. Through him, English readers reinforced their prejudiced views of Middle Eastern sexual mores and his work was used at length by Nerval and Flaubert.

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[1] A. Behdad, *Belated Travellers*, p.61.
[2] Gustave Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, p.77.

Lane, a product of his background, approached Egypt with a mixture of prurient interest in sexual behaviour and a prudery which halted his more 'scandalous' disclosures in mid-stream. (In translating the *Arabian Nights* he left out tales and incidents that were thought too explicit for Victorian taste - unlike Richard Burton, who excluded nothing). He developed a great passion for the Middle East, particularly its contemporary customs and the Arabic language. He studied Egyptian history intensively before he first left for the country in 1825 and he returned twice in 1833 and in 1842-9. In his writing he was determined to 'unveil' Egypt for the Western reader. Of his first sight of the country he wrote: 'As I approached the shore, I felt like an Eastern bridegroom about to lift the veil of his bride, and to see, for the first time, the features which were to charm, or disappoint, or disgust him'.[1]

From the first opportunity, he peppers his work with assumptions and dogmatic statements about the Egyptian character, in particular reasserting the familiar Western notion that climate was the chief influence on Egyptian sexual behaviour. He was able to claim that in sensuality, as far as it relates to the indulgence of libidinous passions, the Egyptians as well as other natives of hot climates exceeded more Northern nations. Egypt deserves the name 'the abode of the wicked'[2] and the libidinous character of the majority of the women of Egypt may be attributed to many causes; partly to the climate, and partly to their want of proper instruction and of innocent pastimes and employments[3]... the heat excites the Egyptian to intemperance in sensual enjoyments.[4]

In Cairo, Lane must have been sorely tormented by having to record so much lasciviousness. Everything seems to have been offensive to European notions of

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[1] Quoted by L. Ahmed, *Edward W. Lane*, London: Longman, 1978, p.1.
[2] Edward W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London: J.M. Dent, 1963, p.276.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.274.
[4] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.162.

sexual propriety. 'The women of Egypt have the character of being the most licentious in their feeling of all females who lay any claim to be considered as members of a civilised nation'.[1]

The scene in Cairo of intrigue becomes farcical and not unlike fiction, as Lane admits. Some of the stories of the intrigues of women in *The Thousand and One Nights* present faithful pictures of occurrences not infrequent in the modern metropolis of Egypt.[2] He then relents a little and confesses that it is after all quite difficult for a woman to enter the house of another man. Yet he still opines that 'it cannot be denied that many of the women of Egypt engage in intrigues notwithstanding the risks'[3]. Class differences were also referred to in Lane's comments. Amongst the upper and middle classes, affairs were more difficult but 'among the females of the lower orders, intrigues are more easily accomplished and frequent'.[4] The combination of low class and heat was too much for Egyptian women, who flirted and jested coquettishly in public with men unrelated to them.

Lane's work remained of great influence, his *Manners and Customs* supplemented by his heavily censored translation of the *Arabian Nights* and his great unfinished Arabic-English dictionary. He was an authority on the Middle East and remained so for many decades. In her study, *Edward W. Lane*, Leila Ahmed was kind in her approach describing him thus: 'To disclose a living culture to the members of another, to disclose it so as to show its ways and beliefs as entirely intelligible, to respect, in

[1] Edward W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p.274.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.275.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.275.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.275.

the presentation of these, their intrinsic validity, is a formidable achievement...'[1] Edward Said is less charitable: 'The Egyptians are disembowelled for exposition, so to speak, then put together admonishingly by Lane'. For Said, 'Lane's identity as counterfeit believer and privileged European is the very essence of bad faith'[2]. The truth lies somewhere in between. Lane was and remains a detailed source of information on many aspects of Egyptian life and society in the mid-nineteenth century, yet his account is written with the mind of a mid-nineteenth century Englishman and contains all the drawbacks which that entailed.

Julia Pardoe:

The famous French scholar and historian Julia Pardoe (1806-1862) visited Istanbul in 1835, where she stayed for fifteen months and wrote her book entitled *City of The Sultans and Domestic Manner of the Turks*, which appeared in 1837. In this work the author discussed Muslims and the Muslim character. She tried (the author alleges) to be honest in her judgement and fair in her statements, but she finished by saying that the Muslim does not like fun or play, nor arguments and swearing, yet does not feel guilt if he kills or steals, and feels innocent of his actions. He knows that poverty is a crime and she finished by saying that the Muslim is a traitor, deceitful and a liar[3].

The author goes on to talk about the Muslim woman and the total freedom she enjoys under Islam, that she is always among fellow women and does not mix with men. The Muslim woman looks at the European woman as being dominated. She then discussed

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[1] Leila Ahmed, *Edward W. Lane*, p.199.
[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.161.
[3] Julia Pardoe, *City of The Sultans and Domestic Manners of The Turks, London*: 4th Edition, 1845. p.242.

the issue of polygamy and made conclusions of Muslim men and their love of polygamy and sex.

Leblish:

The Spanish traveller Domingo Padia Leblish (1766-1818) was able to reach the Holy City of Mecca under the false name of Ali Bey and claimed to be a descendent of the Abbasids. He began his visit to the Islamic world in 1803 and visited Mecca in 1807. He was very moved when he saw the pilgrims of the Holy City who came from all walks of life to pay their duty of pilgrimage and to fulfil the fifth pillar of Islam. Leblish saw people and nations who had come to answer the call of Allah. He said: 'there is no other religion that gives the senses and the mind such a simple and moving view with magnificence and greatness as the Islamic religion. Without an intermediary between man and God and all are equal among their creator'[1].

This was not, however, the traveller's real view of Islam, as after this praise he described Muslims and their condition during the Ḥajj days, where we find him describing Muslim women as vulgar, lewd and decadent, who sit by their windows naked and accosting men[2].

Pananti (1766-1837):

The Italian Fillippo Pananti went to Algeria on an English ship where he was taken prisoner in 1818 by Algerian pirates. He wrote about this incident in his description of his trip under the title *Narrative of a Residence in Algiers*. He described his imprisonment and the life of the prisoner and slave in Algeria, and how a man would try to save himself from imprisonment. If one had any jewellery, all they had to do

[1] D.B Leblich, *The Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey between the years 1803 and 1807*, London:n.p. 1816. Vol. 2, p.67.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.105.

was to hide it with women, because Algerian pirates considered women as sacred and not to be touched. The slave had to respect his owner and the Christian should not spark the fury of the Muslim by practising his Christian rituals in front of him[1].

Thomas Carlyle:

Unlike some orientalists whom presented a negative image of Islam and Muslims to their readers, Thomas Carlyle made the most influential contribution to the progress of positive image of the Eastern world instead when he presented his lecture *The Hero as a Prophet, Mohamet, Islam.* He corrects the image of Islam and its prophet in the minds of his elite English public which included eminent men of letters like Robert Browning, William Macready, Crabb Robinson, Richard Milnes and John Frederick Denison Maurice.

In fact his interest in Eastern matter was first noted in his *Journal* where he praises Lane's translated version of the *Arabian Nights* as "very pious" and the Prophet Muḥammad as 'Good man, Mahomet, on the whole; sincere; a fighter, not indeed with perfect triumph, yet with honest battle' [2]

In his attention was not only his profound concern in the matter it self but also his aspiration to read original sources rather than English ones. Knowing the partial judgments presented by his countrymen regarding Islam and its Prophet, Carlyle knew that he could not rely completely on English sources and that he had to create a strong argument which could not be define by printed material.

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[1] Fillipo Pananti, *Narrative of a Residence in Algiers*, London:n.p. 1818. pp.354-355.
[2] Jams Anthony Froude, *Thomas Carlyle, a History of his life in London, 1834-1881*, London: Longmans, 1891, Vol. I, p.151.

In his lecture he praises the Arabs amongst whom Muḥammad was born, and then recounts the life of the Prophet. And also discusses the principles of Islam as revealed in the Qur'ān and in several instances compares them to Christian ideals. And finally he discusses briefly the impact of the Prophet and his dogma on the Eastern world.

Carlyle also refutes Pococke's highly imaginative and distorting claim that Muhammad received his inspiration from a pigeon trained to pick peas from his ears. He then moves to praise the Arabs 'meditative, enthusiastic' nature, 'A gifted noble people; of the wild and strong feelings, and of iron restraint over these: 'the characteristic of nobelmindedness, of geniune'[1]. Praise the Arabs' scared laws of hospitality and their religious zeal; he describes the Ka'ba 'the *Keblah*' of all Muslims, and Mecca, 'the fair of all Arabia'[2]

Finally about Qur'ān Carlyle has much to say to prove its value as an authentic, sacred book. Besides its genuine spiritual worth, the holy book of Islam sets democratic standards and laws dealing with all the aspects of life under Islam:

> The Mahometans regard their Koran with a reverence which very few Christians pay even to their Bible. It is admitted everywhere as the standard of all laws and all practice; the thing to be gone-upon in speculation and life: the message sent direct out off Heaven, which this Earth has to conform to, and work by; the thing to be read. Their judges decide by it; all Muslim are bound to study it, seek in it for the light of their life.[3]

Carlyle's dispassionate lecture scored high and put an end to the English prejudice against the East and its cultures, prejudice that had been prevalent in literature of England for centuries before. After Carlyle, no literary figure dared distort the image of the East, and later in the Victorian Period and the present century, several English

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[1] Thomas Carlyle, *On heroes, hero-worship and the heroic in history*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1889, pp.62-63.
[2] Ibid, pp.63-67.
[3] Ibid, p.84.

literary figures followed Carlyle's method of treating the Eastern world, its settings, peoples and cultures in an objective and impartial manner. The long distorted image of the East was being repaired, and the Westerners came closer than ever to a fair understanding of a world and a culture different than their own world and culture.

2.4 Conclusion

The negative portrayal of the East is prevalent in Western writing, whether in the form of prose, verse or plays. Discussing the East with regards to its arts and traditions, Islam in particular, was seen by Westerners as important in planning colonial strategies. However, the most important sources from which the Western reader derived his image of the East come from some of those who worked in the field of Oriental studies tended to concentrate their efforts on the defamation of the East by distorting its realities. The routes by which ideas of the East came to appear in the West are: The Crusades Wars, which are considered to be the first Christian aggression on the Islamic world, and the first vehicle by which an image of the East was transmitted to the West. These wars were the most important channel by which culture and knowledge were conveyed between both civilisations. Many of the events of these battles and interactions were described in detail by Western orientalists and writers.

Much injustice against Muslims is mentioned in some of these novels and it detailed the hideousness of the Crusader aggression and the Christians' attitudes. Thus, examples of such stories are full of contrivance, myths and lies about the reality of Islam and the lives of the Muslims. *The Talisman*, by Sir Walter Scott, for example is

considered to be one of the novels that focused on the discussion of Islam and Muslims. As those are claims of Crusading armies who returned from battle with their own version of events. The stories simply aim to praise the strength of Christianity and to portray the Muslims as weak during the crusades.

The Orientalism as second source is a method used by the church who called for revenge after the defeat of the Christian Europe, by which the image of the East was transmitted to the West. Unlike the Crusaders the ideas of Orientalism were spread amongst the establishment, by missionary activities in hospitals, schools, colleges and social clubs. Also, these opinions were spread in as many forms as possible, in books, periodicals, magazines, presentations and conferences. The Orientalists' methods depended on misconstruing everything connected to Islam and on conveying their own interpretations and views to a readership that remained quite ignorant of the East. Some of those works, such as the large body of travel literature were designed to be informative and to give the reader a more 'accurate' picture of the East, other not. In this context unlike others orientalists whom presented a negative image of Islam and Muslims to their readers whether in the form of poetry or prose, Thomas Carlyle made the most influential contribution to the progress of positive image of the Eastern world including Islam and the Muslims.

Finally, *The Thousand and One Nights* is another source, from which the Western reader derived his image of the East. It gives the world a chance to feel the magical vision of fantasy and the essence of traditional realism all at once. It made some Westerners believe that it is a real description of the East, therefore the endless examples of stereotyping and fanaticising the East, as depicted in orientalist paintings

and written works. We can say that the East was an escape and a place for the Western writers to discover new imagery to full fill their desires on one hand and on the other hand to help the colonial elites to establish it self.

This stereotyping of the Western man and his ability to challenge Easterners, as shown in the previous sections, enforces the preconceived idea that the white man is more capable than others to withstand war and resistance, almost as if suggesting that white ethnicity is the reason for this strength.

CHAPTER THREE

Early Attempts to Explore the West during the 19th Century in Early Arabic Novels

3.1 Introduction

3.2 The Attitudes of Arab Intellectuals towards the West

3.3 *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* by Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī

3.3.1 The Contents and Divisions of the Book

3.3.2 The Most Significant Issues in the Book

3.3.3 The Issue of Women

3.4 *'Alam al-Dīn* by 'Ali Mubārak

3.4.1 The East and the West in *'Alam al-Dīn*

3.5 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

The relationship between the East and the West was not fortified by positive interactions between the peoples of both sides. The distinguishing feature of the relationship was continuous strain, which led to it being characterised by challenge.

This Chapter will discuss the relationship between the East and the West through the attitudes imposed by the intellectual class at the beginning of the Arabic renaissance or '*Nahḍa*' of the 19th and early 20th century. This will be done through the discussion of two narrative works, considered to be the most significant literary and novelistic works created in Arabic Literature during the 19th century. These two works are *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Barīz* by Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī and *'Alam al-Dīn* by 'Ali Mubārak.

3.2 The Attitudes of Arab Intellectuals towards the West

By the late 19th century the rise of imperialism and colonialism, which had been evident to the first generation of reformers, had become the dominant factor in the attitudes of Arab intellectuals toward the West. Two schools of thought emerged in Arab society and found expression in the works of these intellectuals.

The first of these was the religious school, whose main concern was the application of Islamic law to all aspects of life. Followers of this school studied the causes of the Muslims' backwardness and Western superiority. They claimed to be exercising logic and reason in all of their endeavours, including the interpretation of religious texts. This school was initiated by al-Afghānī and Muhammad 'Abdu and later included the Salafiya movement and some Syrian figures such as Kurd 'Ali and Shakīb Arsalān.

The religious school of thought was not entirely in favour of reform, and some of its adherents were in fact considered extreme conservatives. This conservatism

manifested itself in a variety of ways. For example, some reformers opposed the presence of Western powers in the Arab world in the name of resistance against imperialism, which sought primarily to exploit the area's human and natural resources. Conservatives opposed the Western presence in the belief that there was a permanent conflict between Islam and Christianity. Ḥusayn al-Jisr of Tripoli (1845-1909), for example, believed that the goal of *jihād* was both to defend and expand Islam, and that the door of *ijtihād* had been closed.

The second trend was composed of intellectuals who had already been educated in Western culture and literature and had become aware of the need to adopt Western practices in the Arab world. Some of them even called for the separation of religion and politics. The members of this school included Muslims such as Qāsim Amīn, Luṭfī al-Sayyid and Ṭāha Ḥusyan, as well as a majority of the Christian Arabs such as Faraḥ Anṭūn, Adīb Isḥāq, Shiblī Shumayyil, and Salāma Mūssa...[1]

3.3 *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bāriz* by Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī

In *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* or 'The Refinement of Gold in a Summary of Paris', al-Ṭahṭāwī depicts the educational journey of a young Egyptian man to Paris, the capital of European culture, and his stay in France, which lasted five years (1826-1831). Due to the didactic and erudite nature of this book, it has either been ignored by literary historians or simply dismissed as a travelogue that has very limited

[1] For further discussion regarding attempts at Westernisation, and Arab intellectuals in the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* 1798-1939. London: Cambridge University Press, reprinted 1984; Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West, the Formative Years* 1875-1914, John Hopkins Press, 1970; Ibrahim Abu Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A study in Cultural Encounters*, Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1963; P.J.Vatikiotis, *The History of Egypt from Muḥammad 'Ali to Sadāt*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980, and Trevord J. LeGassick, *Major Themes in Modern Arabic Thought: An Anthology*, The University of Michigan Press, 1979.

novelistic elements; seldom has it been regarded as an amusing story, which depicts an unusual journey. It is obvious that al-Ṭahṭāwī had overburdened several chapters of his book with instructive and factual information, and that he had included a very limited amount of entertaining detail. But this does not change the fact that besides being an important cultural document, *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* is one of the earliest Bildungsroman in Arabic literature, for al-Ṭahṭāwī also dealt with the protagonist's inner self and reflected upon his very intimate feelings, especially in the first two 'essays' of the book. The theme of a young Eastern man leaving his country, facing different cultural and ideological challenges and then coming to terms with the positive and negative aspects of another civilisation was introduced here for the first time into modern Arabic literature. For later generations of Arab writers, this theme would prove to be one of the most fertile of literary topics.[1]

3.3.1 The Contents and Divisions of the Book

Al-Ṭahṭāwī can be considered the first to have written a book about such issues following a journey he made to France as part of a government expedition, in which he was positioned as the religious Imām. He was able, through this expedition, to criticise the Western intellect and to make many observations and form numerous opinions. The scholar displays the influence of the French Enlightenment on his way of thinking and the book exhibits what he learnt of the arts, sciences, ethics, customs, and the standards of living of the people he found himself among.

The book is 'the first evolutionary novel that contains the most significant literary, humanist document in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the first

[1] Sa'ad Elkadem, *History of the Egyptian novel*. Canada: York Press, 1985. p.7.

Arabic publication on Europe'[1]. It was published in 1834 and is considered to be the first that showed 'Arab influence that resulted from East meeting West, and the departure of the East towards the West in a time where feudal society in Arab countries had not yet disintegrated'.[2]

The introduction includes a preface that is divided into four different sections. The first mentions the trip to Paris and its aims, and the second is on the desired aspects of knowledge and the arts. The third talks about Europe in general, France in particular, and the reasons why the trip was made. The fourth mentions the mission's representatives in Paris.

The book is then divided into six sections, the first being his travel by sea to Marseille, which contained four chapters. These chapters cover the trip from Cairo to Alexandria, talking about the city and its history, and his travel by sea and the sights he saw during his journey.

The second section, entitled: 'The Journey from Marseille to Paris', contains two chapters. The first is on the city of Marseille and the second describes his journey from Marseille to Paris.

He divided the third section, entitled: *Describing Paris and its Civilisation* into thirteen chapters, the first of which talks about the geographical layout of Paris and describes the customs of the people there. The second chapter talks about the people who live in Paris and mentions the policy management of the French government and

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[1] Nājī Habīb: *al-Riḥla Ilā al-Gharb wa al-Riḥla Ilā al-Sharq*, Beirut: Dār al-Kalima li al-Nashr, 1981. p.5.

[2] Mohammad Kāmil al-Khaṭīb, *al-Mughāmara al-Mu'aqqada*, Damascus: Ministry of Education Publications, 1976. p.29.

the French constitution, the king, the ministries, judges, and the people's rights that were vouched for by the House of Representatives in 1831. The third chapter discusses the organisation of the French government. The fourth is on the customary habits of the people in Paris and discusses their housing conditions. The fifth is on Parisians' food and drink habits, while the sixth discusses their ways of dressing. The seventh chapter describes their parks, the eighth discusses their health system, and the ninth details medical care. The tenth is on good deed settlements in Paris, the eleventh on the acquisitions of Paris and its proficiency, the twelfth on the religious behaviour of the Parisians and the thirteenth on Parisian knowledge, arts and education.

The fourth section concerns the affairs of the Egyptian expedition to Paris, which he divided into four chapters: the first concerning the study of the French language; the second dealt with the schedule of the Egyptian expedition to Paris and the care given to them by Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha; the third covered his correspondence with a few French scientists, and the fourth detailed the subjects he studied and read in Paris and the exams he passed.

The fifth section focuses on the July Revolution of 1830[1], and discusses the reasons for the revolution and the circumstances that led to its ignition, as well as the developments in the kingdom's affairs during this period and the changes that resulted from it. This section also covered the activities of the king's advocates and the mocking attitude of the people towards the king, the role of journalism during the revolution and the attitudes of other European countries to the revolution.

[1] July Revolution, revolt in France in July, 1830, against the government of King Charles X. The attempt of the ultraroyalists under Charles to return to the ancien régime provoked the opposition of the middle classes, who wanted more voice in the government. For more details see: Pamela M. Pilbea, *The 1830 revolution in France*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991.

In the sixth and last section, which is concerned with the knowledge of the French people, he talks about the classification of European knowledge, the division of languages and their terminologies, the art of writing, the eloquence of the French language in comparison to Arabic eloquence, logic, Aristotle's ten predicaments, arithmetic, and finally, his return to Egypt.

3.3.2 The Most Significant Issues in the Book

The book reveals the predominance of European knowledge over Arabic knowledge, as al-Ṭahṭāwī insisted on studying the former. He looked upon the French as teachers, from whom he learnt a great deal. His arrival in Paris obliged him to adopt the same course and direction as its scientists, and it is evident that while there he read more than he saw, and translated more than he experienced. His account is at first a collection of data, and secondly a travel literature work. This is evident in the objective way in which he talks about Paris, which avoids any form of novelistic atmosphere from encroaching on those sections of the book.

Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī always affirmed that European countries are places where atheism and obstinacy are present, very far-removed from Eastern beliefs.[1] However, he gets carried away by confessing that the reason for sending the mission was the dominance of the Western countries, the ingenuity characterised by their people, with their widespread knowledge, arts, industrial innovations, and the desire to bring these different types of knowledge to the Islamic countries.[2]

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[1] Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, Cairo: 1958. p.5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.4.

Al-Ṭahṭāwī looked upon the West's technological dominance and European civilisation from a prospective point of view. This view was reflected through his amazement over the different types of industry and the mass of knowledge attained by the West. He tried to convince himself that the transition of development from the West could be made palatable to those in the Islamic world, and found some religious justification for this, as in the Hadīth says: 'Seek knowledge as far as China'[1]. He thereby generalised the required benefits from his journey, deciding that the main aim of publishing his book was to urge Islamic institutions to search for widespread knowledge about the arts and industry. The level of perfection among the European countries was a prevailing fact and this truth had to be accepted.[2]

There is no doubt that the publishing of his book is directly linked to the Egyptian renaissance that was taking place at the time. According to Muḥmmad 'Ali Pasha, the West represented a power that exceeded that of the Ottomans. The West was strong, and it is this strength that was lacking in the East; thus, the East had to learn from Europe whose arts and industries far exceeded what was possible in the East at the time. Westerners had developed these institutions such that their civilisation had become dominant. This is the basic truism that Rifā'a wanted to show those in his own country. He wanted the Islamic world to turn itself towards modern civilisation without violating the values of Islamic Sharī'a. Because of this, he used to write down his observations on topics which he thought were of benefit to his country. Hence, some of the chapters were similar to school reports, which al-Ṭahṭāwī then presented to Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha. Among the diverse subjects he wrote about were the

[1] Scholars critical that as Hadīth Mawḍū' (Fabrication), see: M. N. al-Albānī : *slslat al-Aḥādīth alḍ'īfa wa al-Mawḍū'a wa Athruhā al-Sayi' fī al-Umma*, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī li al-Ṭiba'a wa al-Nashr, 1985, Vol.1, p.600.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp.4, 9 –14.

weather, the nature of the Earth, and the water drainage and filtration systems of Paris.[1]

What can we conclude al-Ṭahṭāwī offered to those in his homeland? What issues did he tackle? Those who read al-Ṭahṭāwī's book perceived many sporadic yet organised fragments of information about many issues. The most significant aspect discussed in the first part of the book was the issue of developing a modern Egypt through a modification of social mores: the issue of women, educational reform and the upbringing of children, religious education, and the publicising of educational institutes featured heavily. He also covered political development, the necessity of making changes to Al-Azhar as a religious institution and the need to introduce some previously neglected subjects into educational programs, as well as the spreading of new political concepts regarding justice, equality and civil and political rights.

3.3.3 The Issue of Women

The issue of women and their place in society preoccupied the minds of many thinkers who came after al-Ṭahṭāwī, and opened a wide avenue for comparison between Eastern and Western civilisations. French women had accompanied Napoleon's troops to Egypt and had succeeded in entering its world of customs and traditions, exhibiting to the East the educational and social differences that separated Western women from their Eastern counterparts.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 4 – 105.

Thus, al-Ṭahṭāwī found that it was necessary to shed light on the position of women in French society and to clarify the extent to which this could be linked to issues of individual or social behaviour.[1]

The image of the Western woman was envisaged by the Egyptian man in terms of what the French invasion had introduced to him. This was mostly women's behaviour, especially in terms of virtuousness, the absence of the veil, male-female relationships among westerners and the relative freedom that they had gained over the years. However, al-Jabartī criticised the general role of Western women and condemned their behaviour in his book. That did not prevent al-Ṭahṭāwī and others who succeeded him like 'Ali Mubārak, al-Shidyāq and al-Bustānī from talking about women with a certain amount of objectivism, even if their Eastern roots became apparent over certain issues. It appeared that their works were based upon the willingness to present some positive, prevailing concepts regarding the position of the Western woman. Al-Ṭahṭāwī wrote: 'In summary, we can again say that the confusion with regard to the chastity of women does not arise from whether they wear the veil or not. Rather, it is linked to whether a woman has a good or bad education, whether she is accustomed to loving only one man rather than sharing her love among others and whether there is peace and, harmony within the couple.[2]

In his view, the issue of virtuousness lay in the process of upbringing. So, if the upbringing of the woman was righteous, then society would be safe from her ills. Women in France were categorised in ranks and levels of virtuousness. 'Experience

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[1] Muḥammd F. Ḥijāzī, 'Usūl al-Fikr al-'Arabī 'Ind al-Ṭahṭāwī, Cairo: al-Ḥayāt al-'Āmma al-Misryya li-al-Kitāb, 1974.

[2] Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī: *An imam in Paris, account of a stay in France by an Egyptian cleric (1826-1831)*, (*Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz aw al-Dīwān al-Nafīs bi-iwan Bārīs*), translated by Daniel L. Newman: London : Saqi, 2004, p.364.

has shown that in France chastity dominates the hearts of women belonging to the middle classes, while this is not the case for those the upper classes or the riffraff. The latter two classes often give occasion of suspicion and concern.[1]

He also touched on the issue of honour, a trait the French claimed for themselves, which was not dissimilar from Arab ideas of chivalry. The French also adhered to it as a social value, like the Arabs, and swore by it in times of adversity. They showed little jealousy towards their women, but al-Ṭahṭāwī argued that this did not mean that they were dishonourable. For them, honour was shown in this context more than any other because even if they had lost their sense of jealousy, they showed more severity in their actions if they found out that their wives had betrayed them. But he emphasised that it would be absolutely wrong to hand leadership to women, his religious justification being the verse from the Holy Qur'ān
'Husbands should take full care of their wives, with the bounties God has given to some more than others...'[2] This was a point he criticised heavily with regard to Westerners: 'The point is that they are mistaken in handing over leadership to women; even those who are married are to be trusted...'[3] This is an idea that 'Ali Mubārak later put forward, which was later exploited by Buṭrus al-Bustānī in a wider context with regard to Eastern women.

Al-Ṭahṭāwī wrote: 'Hence to these people, men are considered as slaves for women, and should stay under women's command whether the women are beautiful or not.

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[1] Ibid, p.364.
[2] M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, *The Qur'ān, A New Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, Ṣūrat al-Nisā' 4/34 p.54

[3] Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, p.255.

The women are considered by Eastern countries as house furniture and by Europeans as spoilt children'.[1]

Al-Ṭahṭāwī was intrigued by the male-female relationships which, because of their often open nature, he could not quite interpret. He thought that the women were often unchaste and explained immorality in terms of class (using the word '*rutba*', 'rank', for class).

Adultery, he thought, was not considered to be a primary sin but a fault or vice, particularly for the unmarried man. He insisted that Muslim women should always be veiled in the presence of strangers but did not believe that European women required the veil. However, he did not explain his reasoning for this difference, or state why Muslim women needed greater protection. He thought that French men were merely slaves of their women and that Paris was therefore: 'paradise for women, purgatory for men and hell for horses...'[2]

Al-Ṭahṭāwī goes further in listing the characteristics of the French woman, an issue that exhibited his broad insight and stimulated much discussion over this subject by his contemporaries. The issue of women was considered very important to the rising Arab society and was debated by Arab authors and intellectuals. It became unusual for an Arabic novel not to mention in its narrative details about the female characters.

The other issue that al-Ṭahṭāwī raised in his project was the importance of education, which he considered a necessity for the human being, without which he would not be able to steer a path for himself through the diversions and chaos inherent in society. 'The human being is born without knowledge and with the passing of years he would

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.78.

[2] See Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East*, pp.246-9.

be unable to make anything of himself without knowledge... so it is necessary to provide the necessary education and guidance to create for him a living atmosphere and the ability to talk and to adapt himself to thinking and scrutiny...'[1]

From here, we might be able to understand al-Ṭahṭāwī's approach towards the brain, considering it as the source of 'trustful guidance' for the human being. With the brain, he is able to reach his objectives without being obstructed, as education, based upon the mind's substructure, paves a clear path towards progress and development.

There is no doubt that the mind is a necessary tool in acquiring knowledge and furthering development. This is why al-Ṭahṭāwī placed such emphasis on education in his study of the Enlightenment in France. He was convinced of the necessity of education in furthering civilisation and the duty of government in providing this as well as the need to appreciate scientists, as 'civilisation only flourishes in the presence of scientists'[2]. He embraced all areas of study: 'I know that all studies are to be considered virtuous, and each field of study has a virtue, but to try to grasp all of these studies would seem quite impossible'.[3] He also called upon the East to follow the example of the Parisians based upon the fundamentals of education and their latest inventions:

> Education in Paris is advancing day by day and always towards more knowledge. There is no year that passes by without them inventing something new. They develop the different arts or different industries and discover new means or conclusions year by year. This makes the French incline by nature to acquiring knowledge and to being always eager to learn about the things around them...[4]

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[1] M. Hijazi, *Usūl al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth 'Ind al-Ṭahṭawī*, p.94.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp.114-116.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Takhlīs al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, pp.160-161.

Al-Ṭahṭāwī believed that the reason for the success of the French was their comprehensive education system which equipped French citizens with knowledge and etiquette in all things from medicine and the arts to behaviour and morals.

However, the most important feature of the French people which Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī noticed was their dynamism and scholarly tendencies and their inability to simply be content with what they had. They also tried to avoid predominance in society based on the division between private and common; if anything it was the levels of education which created boundaries in France. Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī also noticed that the French people were strongly enthusiastic about freedom whilst remaining diligent and hard-working. They were constantly looking for originality and did not like to copy others. Their society was religious, yet they tended not to follow their religion. They were fascinated by the arts and French women worked in every domain, within which their positions are appreciated; a marked difference from their Eastern counterparts.

New political ideas are explored in al-Ṭahṭāwī's work, such as the ability of the people to take part in rulings, their insistence on educating themselves towards that end and their understanding that these laws had to change according to circumstances, as what is righteous at a certain time might not be in others.

Through his book *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz,* al-Ṭahṭāwī was the first person in the Arab world to talk about the separation of powers , civil rights, and freedom; undoubtedly some of the most important principles expounded by the French revolution.

Al-Ṭahṭāwī's work is considered a description of Western society, and thus an account of how it came to be so dominant in the 19th century. It is an attempt to reinterpret the modern world and the place of Arab civilisation in it. This in itself

showed awareness, in being fully conscious of the domination of the West. In his book, al-Tahtawi tried to show the danger of such domination and consequently the danger of weakness and degeneration of Eastern people heritage. It was to remedy these ills in the Arab world that he came up with the theory of 'Public Benefits' and 'Materialistic Civilisation'. While he does not hide his admiration for the French, he is not so obsessed with them that he ignores his own reality; on the contrary, he shows his understanding and willingness to be flexible, as Sa'ad Elkadem commented:

> The importance of this 'novel' lies in the fact that it presents 'the first complete picture of an East-West encounter' and depicts the hopes, experiences, and accomplishments of a young man who, like the protagonists of other Bildungsromane, is trying to reach a certain intellectual ideal and achieve a specific educational level.[1]

Al-Ṭahṭāwī introduced new concepts to the Arab intellect and Arabic literature, such as the essence of the homeland and popular participation.

3.4 *'Alam al-Dīn* by 'Ali Mubārak

'Ali Mubārak Pasha (1823-1893) played an influential role in the cultural life of Egypt in the middle of the nineteenth century. Like al-Ṭahṭāwī, he was an important man in the field of administration and education and he became famous for his contribution to the historiography of his country. His prose is of great significance to modern Egyptian literature[2].

In his novel *'Alam al-Dīn,* the protagonist is a graduate of al-Azhar Islamic University. When asked by an English tourist to escort him back to England in order to teach him the Arabic language, 'Alam al-Dīn accepts this cultural challenge and

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[1] Sa'ad Elkadem, *History of the Egyptian Novel,* p.8.
[2] J. Brugman, *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt.* Leiden: E. R. Brill, 1984. p.65.

leaves for England accompanied by his son, Burhān al-Dīn. Although the book begins like an amusing story, the reader soon discovers that the author is more interested in discussing cultural issues than in depicting exciting incidents and dramatic characters. The few events that take place in this work are used as a springboard for endless digressions, contemplations and ponderous discussion. For these qualities, *'Alam al-Dīn* is now regarded as an important cultural document rather than a literary work.[1]

3.4.1 The East and the West in *'Alam al-Dīn*

The discussion of 'Ali Mubārak's novel is in no way separable from the background against which it was written and the motives behind writing it. Once we realise that the main theme of the story is 'knowledge', we understand why the author placed such great emphasis on producing a work such as *'Alam al-Dīn.*

Only a short period of time separates 'Ali Mubārak's *'Alam al-Dīn* (1883), and Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī's *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* (1834), leading to a near congruence of methods and objectives. Both works are enlightening projects in an Arab world that was receding into the intellectual shadows. They both contributed greatly to the renaissance of the Arabs, especially in Egyptian society, enabling it to rebuild itself on modern foundations, so it became a society which drew from all aspects of technological and intellectual development.

Conscientious and careful planning lay behind the presentation of both works to the Egyptian public. Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha had embarked on social and political

[1] Sa'ad Elkadem, *History of the Egyptian Novel*,. p.8.

relations relying both on modern trends in society and on tradition. This would be the basis for the modern state, able to embrace any form of novel human invention.

Al-Ṭahṭāwī and Mubārak, with their apparently similar goals, were intellectual tools helping the East to rise by sowing Western seeds in its soil. When Mubārak speaks of his work, he is perfectly aware that al-Ṭahṭāwī had already put forth the same ideas. Nevertheless, in 'Alam al-Dīn there is much detailed information on topics that were only briefly touched upon in *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, due to al-Ṭahṭāwī's lack of time or the fact that he did not visit the same places as 'Ali Mubārak. He says of al-Ṭahṭāwī:

> Nobody has praised Paris and its people or exaggerated the characteristics of its women and men as much as he did, yet he circled the wine jug without singing to it, approached the sanctuary and merely revolved around it. He never uncovered Leila's face, nor did he ever open the doors to her. He described her, but did not lift her veil. All the things he mentioned and observed have now changed; around thirty years have passed since then. During this period, science and industry have progressed further, and the beneficial results of the people's inventions have become visible, thus improving their condition and expanding the scope of their wealth. As a result, everything is progressing and improving.[1]

Both thinkers, al-Ṭahṭāwī and Mubārak, are links in a chain of influential thought, whereby the latter complements the contributions of the former, thus developing the original ideas so as to slowly bring progress to Arab society.

It is important to discuss the contribution Mubārak made and the topics that distinguish his two large volumes, both of which are still considered important reference works today.

Mubārak obviously regarded the themes studied by his predecessor as worthy of research, so he examined them more exhaustively. We say 'themes', because

[1] 'Ali Mubārak, *'Alam al-Dīn*, (Vol 2), Cairo: 1st Edition, 1883, p.434.

Mubārak did not have access to everything al-Ṭahṭāwī wrote about. He worked on these subjects further and added many of his own observations, giving his work an encyclopaedic character.

Dialogue plays an important role in Mubārak's novel. From the first conversation to the last, the author showed his preoccupation with knowledge, which became the main, at times imaginary, at other times real, character. This knowledge, however, is in constant motion, moving from the East to the West. Many conversations between characters will mention an invention or idea that had its origins in the East, only to be abandoned and then developed and perfected by the West.

In 'Alam al-Dīn, respect for the manifestations of progress in Western civilisation is prominent, and in the words of one critic was 'not merely admiration, but the desire for our nation to enter this field, and for its people to benefit from this fruit'.[1]
Western inquisitiveness is displayed through Burhān Al-Dīn's shock at the level of curiosity and interest shown in him and his heritage:

> The foreigner asked me about my country, my family, my ancestry, about many things that I know and that I don't know. He then asked me about the pyramids, some temples and buildings in Upper Egypt, upon which I would either reply timidly or hide behind my silence. Our friend would then respond hurriedly, and provide more information than that required. He would be my saviour from this awkward position and these tiresome questions. Without him, I would have had to admit my ignorance of things that foreigners know about our country, its great monuments and old buildings. This man was talking about matters unknown to us, which we had never come across in our previous readings.[2]

This wonder with the West's willingness to learn from the East becomes clearer in the brief comparison Mubārak makes between the effect of Napoleon Bonaparte's

[1] From the Introduction to *'Ali Mubārak al-A'māl al-Kāmmila 'The Complete Works'*, by Muḥammad 'Imārah, Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li al-Dirāsāt wa a-Nashr, 1979, p.106.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.106.

military expedition to Egypt, which lasted three years, and the Turkish occupation of the Arab countries, which lasted four consecutive centuries:

> The Sheikh said: 'We know that the French only stayed in Egypt for three years, in constant battle. How then did they conduct investigations as they have, and make the discoveries they have, when others had it in their hands for years and centuries without achieving any of this?'[1]

The impact of Western civilisation is apparent in all the images 'Alam al-Dīn sets eyes upon. From the moment he meets the English tourist[2], we notice his admiration for the Englishman's comprehensive education, refined manners, courteousness, and thorough knowledge of Arabic language and culture. 'He [the English tourist] is famous in England for being specialised in learning the Arabic language and reading the Arab sciences'.[3]

'Alam al-Dīn has many good characteristics too, which enable him to outshine the Englishman. From the outset he has one clear goal; to travel to the West, bearing in mind the great benefits he will reap for himself and his nation through his dealings with Europeans: 'We can thus attain what they have attained in the arts and industries, and their multiple advantages. We can choose what is beneficial and necessary for our country.'[4]

A notable episode is when 'Alam al-Dīn enquires about the railroad: 'What is this? What purpose does it serve?'[5] From this first moment, the Englishman makes an effort to be as helpful and informative as possible, answering al-Dīn's questions accurately and thoroughly. The West appears to be opening itself up to the East so as

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[1] 'Ali Mubārak, *'Alam al-Dīn*, (Vol.2), p.73.
[2] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), p.247.
[3] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), p.369.
[4] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), p.369.
[5] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), pp.375-383.

to share its grasp of technology. As the train moves, the Arab visitor is prompted to enquire about steam. The Englishman answers readily: 'The first person to become aware of the possibility of using the power of steam was Harūn al-Iskandarī al-Miṣrī'[1]. This answer gives the East precedence in the discovery of steam. The East formed the foundations, while the West went on to develop the invention until it reached its peak. 'A Frenchman used the power of steam to make water move upwards',[2] the Englishman continues, completing the account of the development of steam power. The Egyptian continues, indefatigably, to question the Englishman, who seems to know the answer to everything, answering each question exhaustively, covering all aspects of the subject and not forgetting any point of comparison.[3]

The novel contains numerous comparisons of hotels and bars and their use in the East and the West, the people who frequent them and the foods that are served there. 'Alam al-Dīn records everything he sees. He observes the eating and drinking habits of his company, and finds a spoon, a knife, a fork, and various sized glasses on the table, not knowing what to do with them.[4]

At every opportunity, the Englishman shows his determination to make his project, the introduction of 'Alam al-Dīn to a modern and civilised way of life, a success. 'By bringing you to this table, among all these people of different nationalities, I wanted you to observe their behaviour and customs, and to get used, before travelling to Europe, to these situations.'[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2) pp.375-383.
[2] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1), p.389.
[3] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1), pp.437, 388, 438, 458.
[4] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1) pp.437, 388, 438, 458.
[5] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1) p.458.

Although 'Ali Mubārak does not portray the Englishman as conscious of his 'civilising project', the novel does suggest its importance to him. He is carrying out his plan to introduce the Eastern man to matters known to and perfected by the Europeans. Mubārak is the project's real initiator, who would like to encourage the East to learn from the West. Not surprisingly, all the characters speak in Mubārak's name and express his objectives; the reader is encouraged to emphasise and understand the opinions put forward by characters in the novel. Any subject broached in the novel may appear randomly raised, but is in actual fact carefully chosen and presented by the author. The subject of women is raised on various occasions throughout the two volumes, to allow 'Ali Mubārak to discuss this important issue.

One of the guests sitting at the table not far from 'Alam al-Dīn was a young Italian woman who spoke Arabic, among other languages. At times, she would speak in Arabic, then in her own or another European tongue, depending on the language spoken by the other guests. She was remarkably beautiful, of rare appearance and charming character. Despite her young age, she discussed scientific and political issues with the men. The Sheikh watched her in admiration and amazement. He had never seen anything like her among the women of the East. He always saw them isolated from men, carrying out their sole duty of housekeeping and only speaking to their husbands or close relatives. When they spoke, they spoke with diffidence and reserve, unlike the Italian woman and the other female guests. When these women spoke, responded, and discussed he discerned no difference between them and the men. They were receiving attention from one and all, whether it was a stranger, a foreigner or a friend. He watched closely and thought hard about what he saw, but through comparison with Oriental women, he finally concluded that the habits of

Eastern women were superior, as they were more capable of preserving their honour from disgrace.

'Alam al-Dīn knows that the woman he has just described at length is the ideal woman. However, he still favours the Eastern woman, due to the fact that she preserves her honour. Yet deep inside, he is aware that honour, if combined with all these other characteristics, would create the perfect woman.

He therefore repeats his assertion on a number of occasions in the novel, confirming what he had previously stated. As an Oriental man, he feels that women may adopt certain new values, while others must be preserved. 'I looked around and observed the interaction between women and men, and realised that it was beneficial for the women.'[1] At the same time, he reiterates that he prefers Oriental women and calls for a separation of the sexes for fear that women might be dishonoured. In any case, the main question remains the same, how is it possible to allow women to become active, efficient members of society? Mubārak relieves 'Alam al-Dīn from having to find an honest answer to this question; it is answered instead by the Englishman, (acting as the mouthpiece of 'Ali Mubārak).

During this period, Arab novelists expressed the views they would otherwise be afraid of airing whilst at the same time averting strong criticism, by putting the words in the mouth of foreigners, thus making it appear as if they are referring to foreign customs. In fact, the author's real intention was to announce and spread a certain truth to the public. In this manner, the Englishman, after an extensive discussion of 'Alam al-

[1] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1), pp.458-459, p.461.

Dīn's opinions, affirms that women would not be harmed by participating in society as long as they were well brought-up. 'Proper upbringing cultivates the mind and refines people's manners. They become accustomed to virtue and keep away from vice'. He adds that often, Western women 'take the place of their husbands in welcoming guests and dealing with foreigners.'[1]

At the end of a long speech, the Englishman asserts that 'there can be no natural pleasure unless there is equality and pure love between two lovers'. According to him 'women in Europe are deterred from converting to Islam because it allows men to marry several women'. Moreover, according to the Qu'ran, men are allowed to beat their wives, even though it offends human dignity.

However, 'Alam al-Dīn is ultimately compelled to stick to Oriental traditions, regardless of how beneficial or advantageous Western customs are. As he says: 'A woman is to a man what fire is to firewood'[2], and goes even further to say, in the words of Ya'qūb, that '[Western] women have all the power in their hands inside and outside the house. A Western man does not conduct any affairs unless he has his wife's permission.'[3] But the Western woman's concern is always expressed in her response to the issue of polygamy: 'What kind of country does that to its women?'[4]

We can see that diverse attitudes to women are expressed in 'Alam al-Dīn. Mubārak is clearly conducting a dialogue in which two parties present their views in detail. He dwells on the benefits of socialisation between the sexes, by mentioning several cases

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[1] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1) pp.467, 565.
[2] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1), pp.467, 565.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), pp.210, 242.

of Western women. He sees them participating as an important element of society, which the people of the Orient need to be aware of. On the other hand he remains an Eastern man, loyal to the East and its values, but unable to express his intentions through Arab characters like 'Alam al-Dīn and Burhān Al-Dīn. He therefore had to resort to the West, to the Englishman through whom he expressed himself in depth, his logic superior to that of the Arab characters in their defence of Eastern attitudes towards women. Thus, there is a dualism in the presentation of merits and reasons, until a general consensus is reached on how society should function.

Another issue that appears sporadically, but remains prominent, is that of the West's imperialistic position, its control over large parts of the world and the subsequent accumulation of wealth in the hands of its people and monopolistic institutions. This European domination, according to the Englishman, is:

> the result of the usurpation of the majority of the American lands, the African coast, various parts of Asia and the islands of the Atlantic, Southern and Indian Oceans, such that Europe became the richest part of the world, with the biggest accumulation of wealth. Its monarchs became greater, more important and powerful than the others. All this was owing to their military strength, and their wide and ever-expanding and progressing knowledge in the sciences of politics. They have acquired every industry they came across, and flooded other countries with all kinds of goods.[1]

This was one of the subjects 'Ali Mubārak focused on. This is the other face of European civilisation; the civilisation that discriminated against nations and stole their possessions, then covered its tracks with the mask of progressivism to convince these nations of its superiority, and to persuade them that colonisation was their only means of escape from ignorance. In fact, it was doing the exact opposite: damaging the national culture by destroying the East's libraries and eliminating its distinguished

[1] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), pp.304, 303, 144.

men of intellect. 'Alam al-Dīn comments: 'This is but a sample of their conduct in Egypt.'[1] 'Alam al-Dīn is aware that there are other cases of Western imperialism in other parts of the world, as expressed by Mubārak through the words of the Englishman. Rather than striving to complete their civilising mission as they claimed, we find the Europeans indulging in suppression, injustice, and plundering.

Civilisation turned into a most savage form of domination. If the people of Africa were savage, then it was merely evidence of the savagery of the Europeans, for how could they remain so with the 'civilising' influence of the English, the French and other Europeans in the region? The goal of the Europeans, since the dawn of their renaissance was their expansion at the expense of other nations, 'to profit from trade with these nations' natural resources, metals and other materials, by sending them to the European kingdoms and sending other products back to these countries'[2]. Rather than helping them by saving them from the abyss of ignorance, these nations were enslaved. Hence 'Alam al-Dīn's pressing question: 'Why do they put so much effort into abolishing slavery, while they do not consider abolishing their own terrible practices?'[3]

'Ali Mubārak presented a very detailed picture of the ills of imperialism, discussing it extensively. Mubārak wanted to bring this problem to the forefront in order to warn the East about the dangers of throwing itself completely into the arms of the West. Western images consecutively presented in the novel are either praised or frowned upon, the ugly face of the West going hand in hand with its sympathetic one. This is

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, (Vol 2), p.144.

what prompted him to call for greater attention to be given to a sound education, inspired by tradition and the latest innovations in the field of human sciences.

In the novel, 'Alam al-Dīn seeks knowledge in all its forms. He delves into subjects as diverse as steam engines, agricultural machinery, population statistics, city planning, the stock exchange, banks and wildlife. He seeks accuracy of information, particularly in his study of censuses, the distribution of revenue and agricultural statistics[1]. He believes, as 'Ali Mubārak puts it, that knowledge is crucial for life. Humanity in all parts of the world needs knowledge like the thirsty man needs water and the traveller needs provisions. Consequently, a perfection of knowledge can only be achieved with the perfection of the mind, since 'it is the mind that distinguishes man from animal.'[2] That is how the European nations have used knowledge to attain what they strove for, by building their states on the basis of knowledge. 'In this manner, the people of Europe have achieved progress in the sciences'.[3] When 'Ali Mubārak presents these views, he wishes to see them in his own country.

'Alam al-Dīn abounds with descriptions of European places and ways of life, which are compared with those in Egypt. For instance, cafés are shown to have a different meaning from the ones in Egypt. They provide enjoyment and information. They are 'an excellent place, strangely beneficial, where every visitor can find what their heart desires. The people there are delightfully quiet, sound in body and intellectually refined. Their clothes are tidy, their movements graceful.'[4] In Egypt, the café is a place 'where the common rabble gets together, where nothing delights the eye or

[1] *Ibid.*, (Vol 1), pp.256, 268, 627.
[2] *Ibid.*, *Introduction*, pp. 177 and 287.
[3] *Ibid.*, (Vol.1) pp.537 and 539.
[4] *Ibid*

enchants the mind'[1]. It is reminiscent of 'a cramped prison, and a source of diseases and a haven for the idle and the lazy. Particularly in the shops in which hashish is consumed, you only hear offensive language. It is therefore not befitting for distinguished people to visit them.'[2]

In his extensive comparison, however, he does not forget the Arabs' role and contribution to the formation and spread of human civilisation. It seems natural for him that this contribution was the foundation for the development and modernisation of Europe and as such deserves credit. Mubārak is never hesitant to remind the reader of the past glories of the Arabs, as 'Arab civilisation, with its power, wealth and glory, had previously spread out to the world.'[3]

Mubārak goes on to recount the virtues of the Arabs compared to the Europeans in various fields, primarily astrology, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, architecture, commerce, agriculture and the military. The Europeans should therefore be grateful that the Arabs 'have taken them from their primitive state to their current state of magnificence.'[4]

By highlighting the services which the Arabs have bestowed upon the West, he emphasises the importance of adopting only what is useful to the East. He thereby criticises those with unconditional fascination for Western civilisation, who take all they can from it without proper discrimination and assessment. 'The rational man should not rush to a judgment; rather he should take his time to contemplate until he

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, (Vol.1) p.635.
[3] Muhammad 'Imārah, From the Introduction to *al-A'māl al-Kāmila 'The Complete Works'*, (Vol.1), Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li al-Dirāsāt wa a-Nashr, p.109.
[4] *Ibid.*, (Vol.2) p.494 and (Vo.1) pp.602-603, 675.

sees things as they really are. He should strive to embrace whatever he finds useful for the people of his country and community, and reject anything else.'[1]

Accordingly, in the 7th Dialogue, entitled *'Drunkenness'*, 'Ali Mubārak criticises the habit of drinking alcohol and getting drunk, as well as the fact that people have turned away from their religion and their submission to God. 'I have not heard one person among all the people of this place mentioning the name of God Almighty'[2]. He observes: 'Amazingly, although they are keen on keeping their clothes tidy and adorning themselves, they do not use water to remove their dirt, nor do they burn incense or wash their hands after eating.'[3]

Throughout his journey to the West, 'Alam al-Dīn is a keen observer. He does not fail to notice any detail, which he then dissects and analyses, concluding with a comparison between the East and the West. Studying this novel, one will find an abundance of observations throughout almost the entire work. It contains innumerable references to Western influence on all aspects of life, past and present, making it a significant treatise on the meeting of two very different cultures.

3.5 Conclusion

Through analysis of these novels, it is noticeable that both authors were fascinated by the West and its civilisation, its ethics and materialistic predominance. They also constantly compared the West with the East, which had clearly departed from the golden age it had experienced for so many centuries. Nevertheless, both authors

[1] N. Najib, *al-Riḥla Ilā al-Gharb wa al-Rihla Ilā al-Sharq*, Beirut: Dār al-Kalima, (1st edition), 1981. p.9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.9.
[3] 'Ali Mubārak, *'Alam al-Dīn*, (Vol.2), p.252.

showed some pride and respect for the Arab civilisation that had passed on so much in the way of knowledge to Europe. They hoped that through showing what had been accomplished in the West, an Arab renaissance could be fashioned which would bring the positive aspects of Europe to the East whilst leaving behind the trends which directly contradicted Islamic values.

Many Arab travellers to the Western world have expressed their views of Western civilisation in numerous travelogues. They expressed high admiration for modern scientific achievements and called for their implementation, and even for the establishment of some Western forms of social and political institutions. However, the two works discussed in this chapter are striking landmarks in the genre of Arab travel literature for the clarity with which they present the Western intellect in an attempt to revive the East and encourage it to embrace modernity.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Coloniser and the Colonised as represented in Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqi's *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* (The Maiden of Dinshwāy)

4.1 Introduction

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4.5.3 Who is the Real Maiden in *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*?

4.6 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

'Adhrā' Dinshwāy (The Maiden of Dinshwāy) (1906)[1] is a historical novel describing real incidents that occurred in the early 20th century during the British occupation of Egypt. The Dinshwāy incident is important not only because of the nationalist agitation it caused which roused Egyptians against the British, but also because of the mythology surrounding the incident and the communal turmoil which followed it.

The importance of the novel rests in the fact that it was published in *Al-Minbar* newspaper, owned by Muḥammad Mas'ūd and Hāfiz 'Awad, in 1906, i.e. shortly after the incident, despite the occupation. Novels written during times of occupation are a form of confrontation with the coloniser and a provocation of the sentiments of the people deprived of their freedom as well as their country's resources. The events of *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* are a clear illustration of the colonialist's relation with the colonised people, which is based on oppression, not collaboration. It was not a positive relationship based on cooperation for the development of the colonised land. Rather it was geared towards exploiting the resources of the land, robbing its fortunes and infringing upon people's rights. However, the colonialists would not have achieved their goals if it was not for some people who were determined to become tools serving the colonialists, satisfying their needs and requirements, as well as mistreating and torturing their fellow citizens for their own personal benefit and material gain.

It is an expression of resentment, notwithstanding the great difference between the power of refusal and the expression of discontent. *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* has thus achieved great fame and was the first Egyptian novel to sell thousands of copies upon

[1] This chapter refers to the English translation of the Novel by Sa'ad El-Gabalawy entitled *Three Pioneering Egyptian Novels: The Maiden of Dinshwāy (1906), Eve without Adam (1934), Ulysse's Hallucinations or the like (1985).* York Press LTD, 1986. The Arabic edition of the novel entitled *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* by Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī. Cairo: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1964.

publication. It is hence considered the first large-scale conquest in the art of story-writing in the Arab world.

In the following sections of this Chapter, I will give a brief summary of *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* describing the coloniser's views as well as their behaviour toward the colonised people. This chapter will attempt to study the colonised people and the way they dealt with the Western coloniser. It will also study colonised society and its classes, from the powerless majority to the intellectual elite and its role in serving the coloniser (the character of al-Hilbāwī is an appropriate example of this class). Finally, I will analyse the author's attitude and his opinion of the Dinshwāy incident as expressed in his work and how he was able to write the novel while under the rule of the British who were responsible for the events.

4.2 The Dinshwāy Incident

The Dinshwāy incident involved an altercation between British Army officers who, while on a march with their troops from Cairo to Alexandria, camped in Menoufiyya *en route* to Shibīn al-Kūm. Five or six of them decided to take a pigeon-shooting trip in the nearby village of Dinshwāy. In the course of the shooting excursion, the wife of the local *Imām* was shot and wounded. The villagers' excitement rose as they surrounded the officers and, before the local gendarmerie could sort out the trouble, two British officers were wounded. The officers in turn panicked and opened fire at the villagers. One of the wounded officers tried to march back to his camp a few miles away but died on the way as a result of head wounds received in fracas. Another got back to the camp and the troops returned to the place where one of their officers had died and killed a bystander. Fifty-two Egyptians were arrested and brought before a special court convened in Shibin al-Kūm, according to special regulations

promulgated in February 1895 relating to attacks and crimes against British Army personnel. It was, moreover, presided over by the Christian Minister of Justice Buṭrus Pasha Ghālī and included three British officials. The sentences passed on the accused on 27 June 1906 were severe. Four of them were sentenced to death, many to terms of imprisonment with hard labour, and others to public flogging. The sentences were executed swiftly, publicly and brutally the following day. The following sections show the images in the novel of the ruling elite, the rich landowners and all those who benefited from the occupation.

4.3 The Coloniser as represented in Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī's *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*

4.3.1 The Colonisers' View of the East in the Novel

The English colonisers' view of the East does not differ from the view held by Western writers and Orientalists in general; everything Eastern is looked upon as inferior and backward. The author presents this view on several occasions in his novel and expounds the coloniser's position towards the natives; the colonisers only believe in the principle of power. According to the colonisers, the more powerful the nation and the more it oppresses and destroys other nations, the more it deserves respect and appreciation. Weak, humble and peaceful nations do not deserve to live, no matter how civilised or sophisticated their culture may be. Power and material values are all that deserve respect and appreciation in the eyes of the colonisers.

In the novel, Major Ben Coffin considers the Egyptian people to be weak, submissive and cowardly. Their peacefulness and mild manners are believed to be nothing but hypocrisy and flattery towards the more powerful people. The more merciless the

colonisers were, according to Coffin, the more weak and submissive the Egyptians became:

> Smith: 'It seems that the Egyptians are fond of the British.'
>
> Coffin: 'The Egyptians fear the British the way cowards dread the might of the brave. I have never seen such hypocritical and bizarre people! They are known to be docile and meek. What you call docility and meekness is, in fact, nothing but cowardice and weakness. That is why we never respect these flattering people or care for their radical views.'
>
> Smith: 'So it is the same here as in India.'
>
> Coffin: 'As all the East'
>
> The Lieutenant said, laughing: 'I gather you exclude the Japanese from these nice traits?'
>
> Coffin: 'Do you have any doubt about my deep admiration for this brave and dynamic people?! Persistent work and brave resistance are the only means to obtain the coloniser's respect and appreciation, as in the case of a nation like the Japanese. As for the weak, they do not deserve to live, even if they–such as the Egyptians–work hard for the coloniser's well-being and struggle to maintain the coloniser's luxurious life and to fulfil their needs and desires. People like that deserve nothing but the coloniser's disdain and contempt.'[1]

When Major Ben Coffin stands in court as a witness and is asked by the judge to identify the suspects, Coffin laughs, because in reality he does not remember any of them. Nevertheless, he goes on to choose randomly from amongst them. There is no one to supervise or judge him, for he is the coloniser, the ruler. He describes Egypt as strange, even in its courts. He mused: 'I could not care less. As our high commissioner once said, Egypt is the land of wonders and marvels. No wonder, its judicial system is also full of wonders and marvels...'[2]

Disregard and contempt towards fellow human beings was not merely the attitude of the people of the military. Rather, it was an inherent policy of the imperialistic state. Take Lord Cromer, the experienced politician and the British High Commissioner

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[1] Maḥmūd Ṭahir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.22.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.37.

who, upon hearing the news of the murder of one of his English soldiers by an Egyptian, immediately orders the demolition of the whole village and its complete elimination:

> The lord said, frowning: 'Woe to them. I will give them hell. Fill the pumps with gasoline, mister, and send them to burn that village, with all its people and cattle. Dispatch the artillery batteries to demolish it, to level it to the ground!'[1]

The coloniser's view of the East lies somewhere between ignorance on one hand and contempt, ridicule and feelings of superiority on the other.

This view of the East has various implications, as perceived by Fanon who had studied the impacts of this view on the East. In his work *The Wretched of the Earth*, for example, he shows the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation, writing:

> The coloniser paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil, insensible to ethnics and represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values.[2]

He goes on to reflect the views of the coloniser by saying:

> He is [the coloniser] the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him; he is the deforming element, which disfigures all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces.[3]

Fanon, in his book has also outlined a few descriptions of the coloniser's attitude towards collaboration with the colonised people:

> The total rejection of the French authorities in allowing the Algerian to participate in the French National Assembly during the occupation...[4]

In other terms denying the native people the right to participate in managing their own affairs. He goes on to indicate that:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.30.
[2] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965, p.34.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.34
[4] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, pp.34-35.

> The Christian religion as another example, which wages war on embryonic heresies and instincts, and on evil as yet unborn. The Church in the colonies is the white people's Church, the foreigner's Church. She does not call the colonised people to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor.[1]

In fact, the terms the coloniser uses when he mentions the colonised people are zoological terms. He speaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions, of the stink of the colonised quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn of gesticulations. In reality when the coloniser seeks to describe the colonised fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary, which provokes again the same feelings of superiority as described in Ḥaqqī's novel.

4.3.2 Physical Description of the Coloniser in the Novel

Maḥmūd Ṭaḥir Ḥaqqī's description of the colonisers' outer appearance is not thought to make a direct contribution to the purpose of the novel. In any case, Ḥaqqī's description of the colonisers' facial features, body and even clothes throughout the novel is very concise. The author does not attach great importance to the description of the colonisers' physical features, except on very rare occasions. For example, in the beginning of the third chapter in which the colonisers are first mentioned, the author describes Major Ben Coffin and Smith as: 'sitting in one of the Shepherd Hotel's magnificent halls, dressed in their civilian tuxedos and holding glasses of whiskey with soda...'[2]

There is no apparent relationship between Ḥaqqī's description of the two men's appearance and the topic of their conversation, namely pigeon-hunting, except,

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp.34-35.
[2] Maḥmūd Ṭahir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.21.

possibly, for the author's intention to convey the idea that the colonialists led a life of comfort and luxury, whereas the country's native inhabitants lived in houses of mud in poverty and misery.

Furthermore, Ḥaqqī's description of the other soldiers is rather vague. We find him describing Mr. Porter as a handsome young man of radiant appearance, who was conversing with another young man of similar appearance called Lieutenant Smith Weak.[1]

As mentioned before, Ḥaqqī's intention in only vaguely describing the coloniser is not clear, and this lack of clarity is noticeable to anyone who studies the novel. For example, he describes Captain Paul as follows: '... standing in the distance was a man, about 30 years of age. His features betrayed weakness, and his eyes simplicity. His name is Captain Paul...'[2]

This Captain was cleaning a rifle, leading us to question the reason behind Haqqi's description of the man as 'weak'. Does this description of weakness later serve the author's attempt to convince the reader that the real cause of Paul's death was his weak physique and not the village inhabitants? However, the author further describes Paul as follows: '... and his eyes [betrayed] simplicity...'[3] What relationship is there between eyes and simplicity?

Captain Bustock is described by Ḥaqqī as a man of short height, sitting on a chair with his feet on another chair, deeply engrossed in a book he was reading.[4]

The last soldier, Lieutenant Hargriffith, is merely described by Haqqi as 'quiet'[1], close to Captain Bustock, 'a short man named Lieutenant Hargriffith sat quietly'[2].

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.22.

Maybe the reason no further description is given has to do with the fact that Hargriffith did not join the other soldiers in the hunt.

4.3.3 The Coloniser's Attitude Towards the Colonised

The Coloniser's behaviour towards the native people reflects his deeply-rooted feelings of superiority over them. The coloniser is not the merciful compassionate ruler, offering his hand to the needy, nor is he the one to assist the natives in taking their country to a higher stage of development. On the contrary, colonialism was a tool for robbing the riches and resources of the occupied people. The powerful coloniser takes advantage of the weakness of the people to weaken them even further and to endow himself with even more power. So, he takes the little money the poor own – no matter how little they have – so that he may live in more affluence and luxury. There is no room here for humanity or for understanding other people's basic needs. Those who stand against the colonisers' interests can expect to be punished severely. If we look at *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* , we will find many different examples where Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī presents this particular view.

Whenever the coloniser deals with the natives, he always does so with cruelty and foul language. Lieutenant Weak's behaviour is one example. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes the event when two of the villagers, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Nabī and his wife Mabrūka, stare in dismay at the state of their barn following the fire and destruction caused by the English soldiers' gun-shots.

Muḥammad 'Abd al-Nabī and his wife, Mabrūka, stayed in their barn and watched the shooting of their pigeons with heavy hearts. Then a stray bullet suddenly hit Mabrūka and she collapsed to the floor. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Nabī bent over her, shedding tears

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.22.

of intense grief. As he was mourning her, he noticed that the barn was on fire, which added to his anguish. So, at the top of his voice, he screamed at the shooters:

> 'This is evil, you people. Have some fear of God. You killed my wife and burnt my barn!' While he was shouting, a dead pigeon tumbled on his head, which filled his grief-stricken heart with terror, so that he scrambled out of the barn and started running in a state of panic, leaving his wife behind in a pool of blood.[1]

Then Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī continues describing the scene of the event by saying:

> The peasants gathered around his barn and started to extinguish the fire, while he rushed hysterically in the direction of the hunters, shouting: 'Have mercy, you people. This is evil.' The lieutenant scolded him: 'Goddamit! Bloody fool!' then tried to hit him. Overwhelmed by fear that the Englishman might kill him, Moḥammad 'Abd al-Nabī took hold of his rifle with great force, which infuriated the lieutenant, so he started to kick him hard in the shinbone.[2]

Major Ben Coffin does not really look at the suspects in order to identify the villagers who participated in the clash. Instead, he is enjoying his own importance and authority, feeling that he is not only their master, but also a god that controls their lives. He looked at the accused grandiosely, saying to himself: 'I have absolute control over your destiny. With one word, I can condemn you all to death or bring you back to life.'[3]

Ben Coffin's testimony is dishonest, despite taking the oath to say the truth in court. His random choice of suspects reflects his own interests, complacency and aversion to their appearance. It is not based on truth or on any efforts to recall the real perpetrators:

> ...his eyes fell first on 'Abd al-Mun'im Maḥfūz who had a bush beard. So he decided to identify him as a punishment for not shaving! Next there was Moḥammed Muṣṭafā Mahfūz, whom he also accused because of his big paunch! Then he looked at Muḥammad al-'Abd and liked his figure, so he pronounced him innocent. Likewise he did not charge Muḥammad 'Ali Muḥammad, since he found him tall and fit enough to be one of the soldiers in

[1] *Ibid.*, p.26.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.26.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.37.

> the Dragon's Detachment. Looking at Muḥammad Darwīsh Zahrān, he did not fancy his gloomy face and hence identified him one of the attackers. Thus he kept walking between the rows of the defendants, their lives hanging on his words...[1]

Lieutenant Smith Weak's coloniser attitude towards the natives is only slightly different from Major Ben Coffin's view of the suspects. To him, all natives are alike, whether or not they have tried to harm the coloniser, as long as he is the master. Lieutenant Smith describes the villagers as 'savage *fellāhīn*', adding that they are all alike[2].

Colonialism is usually seen as the cause of the problems among a native people. For example, Fanon argues that excessive oppression encourages disobedience and gives rise to violence in the community. He specifies a few attitudes, amongst them the following which are exhibited by the coloniser in Haqqi's novel:

> The use of violence in the colonies as cruelty and foul language does not only have for its aim the keeping of these enslaved men at arm's length; it seeks to dehumanise them.[3]

He continues to emphasise:

> Everything will be done to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours.[4]

The violence with which the supremacy of white values is affirmed and the aggressiveness which has permeated the victory of these values over the original ways of life is well documented in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth.*

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.37.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.38.
[3] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p.13.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.13.

4.3.4 The Coloniser and Alcohol

One observation from the novel raises a few questions: why does Haqqi make a point of linking the colonialists to alcohol? Is it his intention to show us the luxurious lives the colonisers led? Or is it because drinking alcohol is considered objectionable in the Islamic East and is thus used to demonstrate how the British did not give much consideration to the ethics and traditions of the society they occupied; that they insisted on living the life they chose and were not prepared to adapt to the original society?

After the initial description of the colonisers, the author describes them in a gathering characterised by privileged luxury. Importance is given to the conversation taking place between Major Ben Coffin and Lieutenant Smith Weak. This conversation took place between two Englishmen, 'sitting in one of the Shepherd Hotel's magnificent halls, dressed in their civilian tuxedos and holding glasses of whiskey with soda.'[1] Ḥaqqī deliberately makes the link between the coloniser and alcohol on many different occasions throughout the novel. He describes the soldiers' dream of having a meal of pigeons accompanied by whiskey: 'The five officers walked, talking and laughing and dreaming of a delicious meal of pigeons, with a bottle of whiskey and soda.'[2]

Also, when Porter challenges his friend, Lieutenant Smith, over who is capable of shooting down more pigeons, the bet is on a bottle of whiskey: Mr. Porter said to his companion: "Do you want to bet, my friend that I will shoot more pigeons than you? Alright. I would bet you a bottle of whiskey."[3]

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[1] Maḥmūd Ṭahir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.21.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.23.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.25.

Even when one of the colonisers is dying, Ḥaqqī describes the thirsty Captain Paul as saying that his thirst for water equals his desire for whiskey: 'Paul said moaning: "Where am I? I am thirsty. I need a drop of water. I want a little whiskey!"'[1]

The English coloniser feels bitterness and hatred towards anyone who takes or steals his alcohol, illustrated by 'Abd al-'Āl's response to Mr. Porter's accusations that he escaped during the fight between the English soldiers and the villagers:

> 'I did not run away. The officer makes this up because there is a grudge between him and me." When Mr. Bond asked him about the nature of the grudge, he replied: "He owes me ten shillings, which he would not pay, claiming that I broke the lamp. He always accuses me of pilfering whisky and drinking it. And that is not true...'[2]

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī's description of the coloniser gives preponderance to the victors (the colonisers) as opposed to the losers (the colonised people). But the victor is not the human colonialist, but the coloniser's machinery. The coloniser did not defeat the East with human civilisation but with advanced material developments and military technology, which the West used to confront the rest of the world. This is how the minority managed to control the majority.

The colonisers do not have a positive attitude towards the people they colonise, an attitude that could have been based on resource sharing and helping their brothers in humanity - the people of the East - to grow and develop. Their attitude is rather one of superiority, a master's attitude towards his servants, a boss's view of his subordinates, the attitude of the invincible power, a materialist, rather than a humane and moral attitude.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.28.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.40.

4.4 The Colonised as Represented in *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*

4.4.1 The Image of the Colonised as Shown in the Novel

Many key factors were beneficial to the coloniser and played a part in increasing his ability to occupy the land of the colonised, to enslave them and to plunder their land's resources. First of all, the predominant military force is not measured in terms of quantity but in terms of tactics; the advanced military force against the others' force. A second factor is economic capability, whereby the coloniser can be empowered by developing his own economic plans and strategies, which should accomplish certain significant targets. These targets aim at weakening others by making them become fatefully in need of the coloniser, which means that if they were to escape from their subordination they would be bound to die from hunger. The other goal was to dominate the markets and to steal the country's resources by making the coloniser richer, whilst the colonised country remained stricken with poverty, working as a slave and a labourer for the coloniser. The third factor to be considered as one of those contributory to the spread of the coloniser's dominance over the land of the colonised is the presence of a faction, even one represented by a minority of the colonised people, that would endeavour by all means to serve the coloniser and to surmount all difficulties to suppress fellow colonised people for the sake of their own personal benefits, whether material or political. As often happened, members from one such faction would be willing to fight other factions to the extent of seeking help from the British in order to destroy and defeat the rival group.

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī has embodied all types of colonised people in his novel, such as the powerless colonised person who was exploited by the coloniser - the farmers and pigeon-breeders in the village represent this category of people. The other type of

people mentioned were the feudal lords who would exploit all their capabilities in serving the coloniser. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī also included the Egyptian government, which was positioned and appointed by the coloniser, in this group.

The novelist did not overlook in his writing what the occupier had done to the village. He mentioned the massive support and the great services offered by the Egyptian government and the highly-ranked feudal lords for the welfare of the British occupier. In a discussion between Coffin and Smith about a hunting trip, Smith asked Coffin: "Should we get a permit from the general?" Coffin's reply was:

> 'Oh no. There is no need for such a permit. Because over there we will receive tremendous help and lavish hospitality from the rich landowners!'[1]

In two other scenes in the novel, Ḥaqqī insinuated the efforts made by the Egyptian government during that period to provide all possible means of convenience and entertainment for the British soldiers. This is reflected in Major Ben Coffin's answer to Smith's question about the means of transportation provided for them in this journey:

> 'How about transportation for this trip, Major?'
> 'This is the business of the Egyptian government. I do not have to worry about it! You will see the fabulous arrangements and sumptuous banquets prepared for us. They will exceed anything you have seen before.'[2]

In the third scene in the novel, Major Coffin calls for 'Abd al-'Āl (the interpreter) and says to him:

> 'Did you tell the sergeant?'
> 'Yes, Sir. He said that he had informed the officer at al-Shuhada' police station about the excursion. The latter ordered him to accompany you, leaving a policeman here, and to bring carriages for us from the estate of 'Abd al-Majid Sultan Bey, one of the richest landowners.'

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[1] Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.21.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.23.

> 'But this is not good enough. Tell the sergeant to go ahead of us in order to inform the 'Umdah of our arrival.'[1]

Thus, there is the superior (the coloniser) who is obeyed, and there are those who obey without any discussion (the colonised), and there are those who surmount all difficulties to fulfil the occupier's orders - none other than the Egyptian government and its high-ranked feudal lords.

4.4.2 How the Colonised People View the Coloniser

In the novel, the colonised people are represented by the *fellāhīn*, or peasants, who are powerless and lack free-will, stuck between the foreign occupation forces on one hand and the feudal lords, notables and landowners who collude with the occupying forces, as well as the government appointed by the colonial power on the other. How did the author describe the peasants and their view of the coloniser? Yaḥya Ḥaqqī reports:

> *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* is the first Egyptian novel to revolve around the *fellāhīn*, their lives and problems, relating to us their language, dialect and style, thus giving us a general picture of who they are. The setting is the countryside scenery, its sky and trees, its nights and days, its fields and barns, its huts and pigeon houses.

He continues by writing:

> It is the first novel to present to the reader the villagers with an element of honour and dignity, even going so far as to glorify them. Their local gatherings, where discussions take place and complaints are examined, are regarded as highly as the most sophisticated intellectual clubs in developed cities, for its members are all from one social class, have the same mentality and occupy the same profession.[2]

I question, however, this 'human dignity' that Yaḥya Ḥaqqī talks about and the purported glorification of the villagers in the novel. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī portrays the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.23.
[2] Yaḥya Ḥaqqī, *Fajr al-Qiṣṣa al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo: al-Ḥay'ah al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li al-Kitāb, 1975. p.156.

villagers' gatherings as tools to convey to the reader the feelings and emotions of the villagers. He presents these gatherings in two different passages: the first is an appropriate introduction to his novel and revolves around the British soldiers' pigeon-hunting. The second passage centres on the scuffle between the villagers and the British soldiers and what could have been done. These 'cultural' gatherings, as claimed by Yaḥya Ḥaqqī, were not really cultural but a forum for the discussion of daily problems. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī uses these gatherings (if they actually existed in reality) to describe the villagers' conversations and reveal what they said before and after the incident, i.e.: the fight with the British soldiers.

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes the villagers as submissive. They do not struggle against the coloniser and instead surrender everything to God's will: "If God wanted to change the British, he would; if he did not, then nothing can be done about it".[1]
In the novel, however, there are some clear signs of anger, resentment and dissatisfaction with things that happen to them. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes a conversation between the villagers and the passive village mayor regarding the British soldiers' pigeon-hunting. The village mayor can only offer false promises and empty words to his people. In my opinion, this conversation is the starting point of the novel. After this conversation, the solution comes in the shape of the novel's villain, Ahmad Zāyid, who says: 'Let them have their way, as they do every year'[2].

The colonised people's attitude towards the coloniser is the attitude of subjects towards a strong ruler who can only be defeated by supernatural powers, a ruler who has full control over the land and its people. 'Abd al-'Āl is an example of this

[1]Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.20.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.20.

exaggeration of the coloniser's power. He describes the soldiers as *Jinnis* (demons), when they insist on walking in the blistering heat. Despite his resentment, he can only obey. Ḥaqqi describes him as 'humble'. The following quotation is a dialogue between the Major and Abd al-'Āl:

> The Major called 'Abd al-'Āl and asked him: 'Has the carriage arrived?'
> 'Not yet, Sir.'
> 'Alright, get ready. We will proceed on foot until we meet them on the way.'
> The interpreter saluted and went, cursing the day he was appointed to guide these *jinns* who wanted to walk in such intolerable heat... [1]

The colonised people's fear of the coloniser is evident in the conversation between Sheikh Ḥassan Mahfūz and his daughter Sitt al-Dār. He insults his beloved daughter when she begs him to ask the British soldiers not to hunt in their village. Their dialogue is illustrated in the following quotation:

> The old man came across his daughter, Sitt al-Dār, and asked her: 'Where is Muḥammad al-'Abd?'
> 'In the field'.
> 'And why are you standing here?'
> 'I came to see who these people are.'
> 'This is not your business, my girl. We are leaving this matter in the hands of God. Go home. Go home, Sitt al-Dār.'[2]

The conversation continues between father and daughter:

> 'And where are you going, father?'
> 'To the field, my girl.'
> 'Should I bring your lunch over there?'
> 'Yes, my girl; bring it to me there at the time of the afternoon prayer'.
> 'Will these Englishmen do what they usually do every year?'
> 'We should not get involved Sitt al-Dār, let them do whatever they like'.
> 'Why don't you ask them to refrain from shooting here?'[3]

When the daughter asked her father to speak against the evil, the father replies:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.23.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.25.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.25.

> 'Shut up, bitch, do you want them to give me hell? I will not exchange greetings with these people, lest they should take it as an insult and ruin my life.'[1]

Then there is Muḥammad Zahrān, who can do nothing but cry, afraid of the retaliation of the British soldiers after the fight with them:

> Muḥammad Zahrān looked up at heaven, his eyes brimming with tears. And shouted: 'May God ruin your house, orphan your children, and strike you dead, you Muḥammad Shādhlī. You are the cause of all this grief.' Then he covered his face with both hands and burst out crying like a child. At that moment, the *fellāhīn* became intensely aware of the gravity of their situation.[2]

The author finds, or attempts to find a justification for their extreme fear: the villagers suffer from the absence of safety and justice. Even the government, which is supposed to care for its citizens, to serve them, to protect their dignity and see that justice is done to them, pretends not to be aware of their problems, especially when the other party is the coloniser. During the villagers' discussion of what they can do following the incident, al-Sayyid 'Īssa Sālim, one of the villagers, questions the existence of justice. He interjects:

> 'Do you think there is no justice in this country? What are you talking about? Is this country running loose, without a ruler to control it?! What justice, brother? There is no justice in our land. These days, there is only the law of force. Just wait and see what they will do to us.'

The frustration grows amongst the villagers:

> 'Do what?! They come and shoot our pigeons, from which we make our living, kill our women and burn our crops. How can we take it lying down? Why don't you talk, fellows? Why don't you say something, you Ahmad 'Abd al-'Āl?' exclaimed al-Sayyid al-'Ufi.
> 'What can I say and who will listen to me?'[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.25.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.33.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.32.

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī writes: 'Men cried and women lamented, finding themselves guilty, blaming themselves and regretting their actions, out of fear of the colonisers and their revenge.'[1]

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī reiterates the issue of lack of justice in a society ruled solely by the coloniser's power. This is reflected in the conversation between Hajj 'Umrān, a man respected for his opinions and judgments, and the villagers. A little while later, Hajj 'Umrān says: 'Why did you not consider the consequences, my sons? Why did you do it?' Muḥammad al-Mu'adhdhin replies:

> 'What could we do, Uncle 'Umdah? For five years, they came and shot our pigeons, then stuffed them in stacks and took them away. How can we make a living? Is this fair? Cannot the rulers in Cairo see the truth? When they hear our side of the story, they will find us innocent and have mercy on us.'

Ḥajji 'Umrān says laughing:

> 'What you are saying is just a dream, Muḥammad. Where is this justice you say is in Egypt? If there is justice, would the British attack your village? Shoot your pigeons, kill your women, and burn your barns? There was justice in the good old days, my son... in the good old days.'[2]

We can conclude that Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī portrays the colonised people as being mistreated and weak, surrendering to the will of the foreign ruler, and prepared to serve him even if he treats them unjustly or robs their properties. Some individuals even assisted the colonialists in doing so. The colonialists used them for two reasons. Firstly, they were made to serve them and help them plunder the country's riches, and secondly, they were used as executioners, a tool to exploit the rest of the people and to bring them into subjection.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.33.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.34.

As mentioned above, the unjust treatment of the native people by the coloniser was reflected in their weakness and inability to resist. The evidence in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* is stark and unboundedly clear in showing the relationship between the native people and the coloniser. He argued that in France, as in England, humanism claimed to be universal. However, in the case of forced labour, it is quite the contrary:

> There is no contact; moreover, there must be intimidation and thus oppression grows. This is why you often hear the country people say of town dwellers that they have no morals. The native people are all treated in the same way, so you can no longer be a *fellāh,* a pimp or an alcoholic as before.[1]

He continues to argue that the development of violence among the colonised people will be proportionate to the violence exercised by the threatened colonial regime, stating that:

> In the first phase of this insurrectional period, the home governments are the slaves of the colonisers, and these colonisers seek to intimidate the native people and their home governments at one and the same time. They use the same methods against both of them.[2]

According to his reasoning, such oppression can only bring disorder to the sociological *status quo*, such as the relationships between the classes amongst the colonised people:

> The country people are suspicious of the townsman. The latter dresses like a European; he speaks the European's language, works with him, sometimes-even lives in the same district; so the peasants consider him as a turncoat who has betrayed everything that goes to make up the national heritage. The townspeople are 'traitors and knaves' who seem to get on well with the occupying powers, and do their best to get on within the framework of the colonial system. This is why you often hear the country people say of town dwellers that they have no morals.[3]

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[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, p.91.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp.69-70.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp.90-91.

Numerous studies have illustrated the lack of justice in colonies governed solely by the colonisers' power. The attitude of the coloniser is framed in the belief that he is the strong ruler who can only be defeated by some sort of supernatural force, a ruler with total supremacy over the people and their lands. The exaggeration of the coloniser's force can only bring reaction and stiff resistance (a revolutionary opposition) amongst the native people including the native intellectual. The latter is the subject of the next section.

4.4.3 The Colonised Intellectual as Torn Between his Own People and those of the Colonisers

The intellectual's personality within a society such as that of Egypt was of prominent symbolic importance towards the beginning of the twentieth century, during which signs of social under-development and political and educational domination existed during the Western occupation. In view of the fact that the intellectuals 'were the type of people who possessed knowledge and judgement's natural endowment in diverse situations, the prevailing feature which all of these intellectuals shared was their appreciation for tools of knowledge and their ability to exploit those tools within their intellectual performance'.[1] The intellectuals are also 'those who are productive in the fields of knowledge or teaching or philosophy or literature or art'.[2]

If we go back to the Arab intellectual during that period, we find that he actually symbolised an educational bridge between Western civilisation and his society. He

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[1] Edwin R. A Seligman (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences,* London: Macmillan, 1932, Vol.8, p.118.

[2] David L. Sills (ed), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968. Vol.7, p.339.

was also considered a tool for knowledge and a structural instrument of his society, as someone with a personal perspective on his own society and his people.

However, we find that the intellectuals and those who received their education based upon Western civilisation, and were then subjected to its rule and occupation, seemed to possess no class or roots; nor did they have a true homeland. Their consciences and their belief in their origins, culture and even their kin relationship to their fellow country people had perished away from their souls and bodies and they were engulfed by their obedience for the coloniser, who was the powerful tool behind the political and intellectual domination at the time of the occupation. This magnified their mental and spiritual problems during that period. This was the conflict between their mission as intellectuals towards their authentic land and their fidelity for the Western coloniser, who had provided them with tutoring, money and education.

Al-Hilbāwī gave an account of the intellectual's key personality in his novel, which tells his miserable story as an Egyptian intellectual who exploited the colonisers' abilities. According to him, he used his: 'God-given mental capabilities and gifts to completely vanquish his fellow country people.' According to Al-Hilbāwī:

> 'You do not know the true nature of the Egyptians, members of the court. They are the most vicious people, given to all kinds of evil and abomination. They do not deserve any pity or mercy. Those are people whose faces were darkened by God because of their calumny and falsehood. Take me as an example, honourable judges, and decide!!!
> I was raised as a penniless fellah in a humble family like those of Hassan Mahfūz and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Nabī. It was God's will that I entered al-Azhar University, where I acquired a great deal of knowledge, which made me prominent among my peers. I shall never forget that, out of poverty, I had to spend days and days on end with nothing to eat.'[1]

[1]Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.42.

Al-Hilbāwī continues describing the Egyptian intellectual in his 'God-given mental capabilities':

> 'Then God raised me up the social ladder to the upper class, which dazzled my eyes. Step by step I became famous among my countrymen. Through their tremendous help, I was able to wear silks instead of sackcloth, to eat French bread instead of dry village bread. All this I achieved through the support of my fellow citizens and their confidence in my patriotism. Now look at my position today, eminent judges, and note my example. See how I accepted my present task with pleasure, readily betrayed my country and scorned all my principles. See how I became a burning fire for my country, asking you to crush and execute its sons.'

Finally, Al-Hilbāwī looks at the intellectual determination and commitment to serve his Master in reward for his education:

> 'How would you judge a nation, which includes a man like me? Now that you have heard my story and known the nature of my feelings toward this wretched nation, (would you have any respect for its people?) In short, I ask the court to wipe out the whole village of Dinshwāy and to condemn all these stinking defendants to death.'
> Then he ended his speech with glorification of the forces of occupation as well as extravagant flattery and praise of the officers, raising them above the level of angels. He resumed his seat amidst looks of contempt and resentment from the audience.[1]

This is a clear example of a colonised intellectual who possesses concrete knowledge of the law and a common attitude towards his poverty-stricken people, an intellectual who contently placated his European invaders and acted treacherously towards his own oppressed people. He had sold his conscience and ideology at a very high price.

If the Public Prosecutor in the novel is a good example of the attitude of some of the intellectuals towards fellow colonised people during the occupation, then other intellectual personalities presented in the novel *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* could be considered variants of this same attitude, that of contempt for their own people and

[1] *Ibid.*, p.42.

collusion with the occupying forces. Muḥammad Yusuf Bey, the defence lawyer for some of the accused, stood up and said:

> 'Any Egyptian should be proud to work as a servant or butler in the house of an Englishman. How did these folks dare to beat the British and kill one of their most famous officers? This is a grave matter indeed. I do not think my defence is necessary. I am compelled, however, to ask for the acquittal of all the defendants. The matter is entirely in your hands, your honours.'[1]

He was followed by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid Bey, who rose, shrugged twice and said:

> 'Honourable judges, this incident cannot be regarded as manslaughter or first-degree murder. Instead, you should consider it a violent robbery and apply the appropriate clauses in the criminal code to give the defendants their due punishment!'[2]

Then he sat down, leaving the matter to the discretion of the court, whereupon one of the judges said:

> 'It seems that the lawyer forgot he had come here to defend the accused. Instead, he drew our attention to a certain punishment, which the public prosecutor and we have overlooked'. Turning to him, he added: 'Merci!'[3]

Next Ismā'īl 'Āsim Bey stood and raised his hands to heaven, intoning in his lovely baritone:

> 'Paul! Paul! May God have mercy on your soul, Mr. Paul! May He give comfort and consolation to the English nation! May the Almighty shower you with mercy and bliss, Mr. Paul! Fly heavenward to paradise, straight to paradise, most honourable officer. Oh, God almighty, you are the mainspring of grace and charity, the source of light and majesty. Welcome to eternal life in the Garden of Eden your servant, the son of your servant, the descendant of Adam and Eve, Mr. Paul. You are capable of everything, God almighty...' then he turned to the bench and asked for the acquittal of the accused.[4]

Al-Hilbāwī was an unparalleled example of this type of intellectual, who worked for the rest of his life to grant remission for his sins. But the image that was manifested in

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.42-43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.42-43.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.42-43.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.42-43.

the people's minds remains until now that of the villager, who not only became separated from his people but also acted as the executioner who led his people to the gallows to be punished, as he said, for their retardation, ignorance, rigidity and foolishness.

The fundamental idea in Ḥaqqī's novel about the native intellectual being torn between his people and the coloniser, as perceived by authors such as Fanon, was a measure for conquering the cruel circle of violence created by the relationship between the coloniser and the native intellectual, i.e. the people are poor because of the lack of justice and the unjust wealth distribution resulting in low income, no job opportunities and no future prospects; hence violence continues.

In other words the account of the native intellectual in his mission towards his country and its people and his fidelity for the Western coloniser argued further by Fanon is that:

> It is true that the attitude of the native intellectual sometimes takes on the aspect of a cult or of a religion. But if we really wish to analyse this attitude correctly we will come to see that it is symptomatic of the intellectual's realisation of the danger that he is running in cutting his last moorings and breaking adrift from his people. Because he feels he is becoming estranged, that is to say because he feels that he is the living haunt of contradictions which run the risk of becoming insurmountable, the native intellectual tears himself away from the swamp that may suck him down and accepts everything, decides to take all for granted and confirms everything even though he may lose body and soul.... this is because the native intellectual has thrown himself greedily upon Western culture.[1]

However, when we examine the native intellectual who accepted the cogency of these ideas, you will always find deep in his mind a vigilant sentinel ready to defend the Greco-Latin pedestal. The intellectual who for his part has followed the colonialist with regard to the universal abstract will fight in order that the settler and the native

[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth*, pp.175-176.

may live together in peace in a new world[1]. Now it so happens that during the struggle for liberation, at the moment that the native intellectual comes into touch again with his people this artificial sentinel is turned to dust[2].

In such a situation the claims of the native intellectual are not a luxury but a necessity in any coherent programme. The native intellectual who takes up arms to defend his nation's legitimacy, who is willing to strip himself naked to study the history of his body, is obliged to dissect the heart of his people. Such an examination is not specifically national[3].

In his book, Fanon describes the native intellectual as having to abandon certain of his intellectual possessions in order to assimilate and experience the oppressor's culture. However, even if the action of the native intellectual is limited historically, there remains nevertheless the fact that it contributes greatly to uploading and justifying the action of colonisers and politicians.

4.4.4 The Character of Ahmad Zāyid in the Novel

Portrayed as the struggling farmer, Aḥmad Zāyid's character in the novel remains a negative figure. Yaḥya Ḥaqqī says:

> One of the virtues of *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* was that its look towards the farmer was not a kind of pure exaltation; rather, it knew that the novel was to be based upon a realistic view. So, the novel presented us with a selfish farmer, called Ahmad Zāyid, a character that had placed his personal benefit above all consideration, even if he had to commit treason and step on the corpses to fulfil his needs...[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.36.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.37.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.171.
[4] Yaḥya Ḥaqqī, *Fajr al-Qissa al-Miṣriyya*, p.159.

By presenting this character through his novel, Ḥaqqī has presented a type of the colonised people who belongs to the lowest class. A character of individuals who work for their own interest and try to drive a wedge between their people and the coloniser. As human nature their concern was to fulfil their personal interests despite the fact that it required inflicting damage on their own people. Although they do not get any reward from the coloniser for their treason.

4.5 Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī's Conditions under the Occupation in *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*

In his novel, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes the colonised society, shedding light on its social classes. One class represents the ruling elite and the feudal lords of landowners and rich people. Another class, which includes the intellectuals, is not much different from the former class in its dedication to serve the colonialists. The last class represents the oppressed people who are exploited and mistreated.

We must ask ourselves, which of the three social classes does the author see himself in, especially considering the fact that he was a contemporary of the novel's events, and what was his point of view? Did he present it without falsification, evasion or hypocrisy, and was he frank and courageous, or did he attempt to please all sides?

In order to answer these questions, we have to go back to the novel's opening which begins with: 'In the name of God, the Conqueror, the Compassionate' instead of 'In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate'. Why did he start his novel with the words 'the Conqueror, the Compassionate'? Was he trying to seek help from God, the Conqueror and Powerful, in confronting the tyrannical occupation forces, and to resort to God, the Compassionate, to have mercy upon his people from this tyranny?

The writer prays to God to protect him from sin so that he may not go into perdition. This shows the writer's apprehension of the colonialist power when he was writing the story, bearing in mind that he was just 21 years old at the time. He therefore tries, in his introduction, to explain his view of the incident as an unfortunate result of a misunderstanding between the natives and the colonialists. In order to save himself from any criticism or accusation, he explains that, in relating the particulars of this event, he relied on the statements of the Egyptian government. There is certainly an element of flattery and hypocrisy in this, but he does protect himself from the harsh rule of the British.

4.5.1 The Element of Fiction in the Novel

The writer insists that the novel is a work of fiction. He says: 'the novel is closer to fiction than fact. Love is its main topic.'[1] He adds: 'I clear myself from blame before God, for I am not going to deceive myself and the reader by saying that the mentioned conversations are real.'[2] It is true that the conversations are fictional, although the incidents of the novel are real, and it is also true that a love story was presented as a framework for the political issues. But were these conversations and the love story an expression of the writer's views? Did they reveal his feelings and thoughts, if only by indicating the coloniser's oppression of the colonised people?

The novel clearly portrays the tyranny and cruelty of the coloniser, even if this coloniser appears at his weakest, shortly before his death. This is evident in the conversation between Paul, who lies dying after the fight, and the villager who comes to help him:

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[1] From the introduction to the Novel, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*.
[2] From the introduction, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*.

'I do not want to die in this state of thirst! As an Englishman, I should not die thirsty!" At that moment, he saw a peasant in the distance, moving toward him. His heart pounding, he clasped his hands together, muttering the prayer of health for the salvation of his soul.'[1]

As for the wretched peasant, whose name was Sayyid Aḥmad Sa'īd, he approached the captain, finding him in such a grievous condition, and prayed:

'There is neither might nor power but in the Almighty. We belong to Allah and must return to him. You will depart first but we shall follow you to the other world. I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Moḥammed is his Prophet.'[2]

The captain opened his eye, which he had closed to avoid the sight of the *fellāhīn* finishing him off with their clubs. Feeling the intensity of the peasant's emotions, he said to him:

'As a human being, have mercy on me and give me a drop of water.' The villager could not understand his words and kept reiterating we belong to Allah and must return to him.

As Paul became aware that the villager did not know his language, he made a gesture indicating his desire to drink, whereupon the peasant hurried to a canal and filled his palms with water, which he poured in his mouth. The captain, bemused with the fact that he had been given dirty water retorts:

'How can I drink it? Do not they have filters here?'

Nevertheless, he felt refreshed and signaled to him, asking for more water. The peasant hastened to fulfill his desire. But, now on the verge of death, the captain took a little crucifix out of his pocket and held it to his bosom.[3]

If it isn't the Englishman who will die out of thirst, then who will? It is the 'Other' who should die of thirst, as he is the weak party, not the coloniser. This time, the

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[1] Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, pp.28-29.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp.28-29.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp.28-29.

Englishman's words to the 'Other' are not the words of a master to his servant; instead he appeals to the villager's humanity and compassion. In fact humanity and compassion are the key factor to people to understand each other. It could be exhibited in this case but, by the coloniser also.

4.5.2 Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī's Attitude Towards Al-Hilbāwī

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī resorts to imagination to demonstrate the difference between al-Hilbāwī and the villagers. In court, al-Hilbāwī asks for a bottle of cologne to rid himself of the villagers' smell:

> Al-Hilbāwī Bey asked the court to send one of the attendants to buy two litres of *eau de cologne* and spray it on the floor of the courtroom, in order to repel the offensive odour of the defendants, which he could not tolerate because it made him irritable.
> 'Which brand do you want?' asked one of the members.
> 'Atkinson', he answered glibly. He had barely uttered the word when the spectators burst out laughing. Some of the accused thought that 'Atkinson' was a term for a 'pardon' in the criminal code.

Al-Hilbāwī, as an intellectual serving his master continues to undermine his fellow country people:

> His honor, the chief justice, had to ask for order, then turned to al-Hilbāwī and said: 'Do not you know, Mr. Public prosecutor, that "Atkinson" is not available in Shibīn al-Kūm?'
> 'That is odd, don't the *fellāhīn* have any perfumes?'
> 'Yes, they do have their own odours, but not the kind you want.'
> 'We have a brand of cologne called Sunbul wa Khuzāma, honorable members.'
> 'Would it be to your pleasure that we bring it?' interposed Aḥmad Habīb Bey, the 'Umdah of al-Na'urah. The chief justice nodded, but the public prosecutor was annoyed because he had never heard that name before! Plus the fact that he had used 'Atkinson' since his childhood![1]

This is yet another example of the colonised intellectual who contently placated his European colonisers and acted treacherously towards his own people. As Fanon says:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.36.

> He gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. His writings correspond point by point with those of his opposite numbers in the mother country. His inspiration is European and we can easily link up these works with definite trends in the literature of the mother country.[1]

In a similar way to Fanon, where the intellectual has assimilated the culture of the coloniser. Haqqi's novel, regardless of the truth of the story, portrays the huge gap between al-Hilbāwī the character in the novel, who represented some of the real colonised intellectuals at that time, and his people. The fact that al-Hilbāwī insisted on Western perfume rather than a local one showed the extent to which he went to impress the coloniser and reject his people, society and culture. He wished to spray Western thoughts in his own country like the perfume that he sought.

4.5.3 Who is the Real Maiden of *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*?

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī resorts to his imagination in this early stage of Arabic novel writing. Whether inadvertently or not, he tries to lead the ordinary reader to believe that the story of Sitt al-Dār and Muḥammad al-'Abd is a naïve love story, according to the critic Yaḥya Ḥaqqī. However, when reading the description of Sit al-Dār in the story, you recognise that she symbolises Egypt. Muḥammad al-'Abd represents the Egyptian people. His legitimate relationship with Sit al-Dār is actually a relationship between the true landowner and his land.

Aḥmad Zāyid, on the other hand, is one of the villagers - or the people of the nation as meant by the author - who exploit and take advantage of their fellow countrymen. His relationship with Sitt al-Dār is an illegitimate one, therefore, he only sees in Sitt al-Dār (Egypt) his own interests and determination to satisfy his desire.

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[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p.179.

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes Sitt al-Dār as a genuine Egyptian girl:

> A young woman around twenty years of age, carrying a straw basket of flour on her head. She was tall, with a robust frame, strong arms, and joined eyebrows. Her complexion was fair rather than dark. Below her lower lip, she had a green tattoo in the shape of a tiny tree, which enhanced her beauty.[1]

He describes her while waiting for her lover who was praying:

> The girl, who wore a dirty black dress but had a lily-white heart, sat on a heap of earth, laid the basket beside her, and passed the time playing with a few pebbles and corncobs on the ground. Her demeanor and silence indicated she was expecting someone. A moment later, she perceived a shadow in the distance, rising and bending several times.[2]

He continues describing her:

> When she peered at it, the girl smiled happily, revealing teeth like pearls, which would be coveted by the richest women. She then muttered: 'Here he is, Muḥammad al-'Abd, saying his evening prayers!' She was right. When after a while the shadow approached her and became quite distinct, it was Muḥammad al-'Abd in the flesh.[3]

Then Muḥammad al-'Abd is described as a genuine Egyptian farmer: he was a young man about seventeen years old, tall and browny, thin and dark, who seemed to be light-hearted in spite of his bulging eyes![4] It is this eternal relationship between the country and its good people, who deserve its love and treasures, not the people who wait for an opportunity to rob it and exploit it, just as the foreign colonialists do.

Finally, we can ascertain the writer's attitude through the words of his nephew, the critic Yaḥya Ḥaqqī:

> We should bear in mind that Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, while writing the novel, was not free to express all his feelings for the occupation forces who had their swords set on people's necks, terrorising them. He was called to see 'Harvey Pasha', chief of the police, who warned him several times about his sharp

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[1] Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, p.18.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.18.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.18.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.18.

> tone. The novel was then being published as a series in the *Al-Minbar* newspaper. When it was published as a book, he had to write an introduction where he played a double game.[1]

Yaḥya Ḥaqqī continues:

> However, he wisely succeeded in escaping from restrictions and was able to express almost everything he wanted to say in the story and in the apologetic introduction, so he could not be blamed for his humble attitude toward the government and for his occasional artificial meanness towards his people, or for trying to reconcile two irreconcilable parties: his country and the colonial power.
> The people understood his critical situation and knew that his deviation from truth was not from the heart. They disregarded all these expected trivialities and were only concerned with the real tragedy. They may have even applauded the writer because he knew how to play the game in order to express his feelings.[2]

Yaḥya Ḥaqqī tried to defend and justify his uncle's standing and to explain to the readers, especially those of the 1960's, his uncle Maḥmūd Tahir Haqqi's circumstances. He presented him as a brave writer although the ruling powers could have punished him at that time and nobody would have been able to protect him.

4.6 Conclusion

The events of *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* are a clear illustration of the colonialist's relationship with the colonised people, which was based on oppression and exploitation. It was not a positive relationship based on cooperation for mutual development. Rather, it was geared towards exploiting the resources of the natives' land, robbing its fortunes and infringing eople's rights.

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[1] Yaḥya Ḥaqqī, *Fajr al-Qiṣṣa al-Miṣriya*, pp.164-165.
[2] *Ibid.*

The incident was seized upon by nationalists, to whom it epitomised the brutality of British rule; British handling of the case was symptomatic of the colonial regime's increasing aloofness and insensitivity, and was inept and one-sided. Egyptian mass reaction to the Dinshwāy incident surprised the British, but it had been clear for some time – a generation after the start of a 'temporary' occupation – that political change was overdue.[1]

The Dinshwāy incident helped both Shaykh 'Ali Yusuf,[2] and Muṣṭafa Kāmil[3] in their campaigns against British rule by rendering the mass of Egyptians as their willing audience. The policy of *al-Mu'ayyad* which 'Ali Yusuf expressed in the first issue of his paper, namely to advance the interests of Egypt and Muslims generally, was further elaborated in a series of twenty-three articles he wrote dealing with the incident. The Egyptians were first of all Muslims. Their treatment at the hands of European rulers as manifested in the Dinshwāy incident showed the importance of preserving their bond with the Ottoman Sultan. This was despite the fact that in 1906 popular agitation against the British had passed into the hands of Muṣṭafa Kāmil and his Nationalists. However, the British would not have achieved their goals if it wasn't for some people who were determined to become tools for serving the colonialists, satisfying their needs and orders, as well as mistreating and torturing the oppressed people, in return for their own personal benefit and material gains.

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[1] M.W. Daly, *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, Vol.2 p.243.

[2] 'Ali Yusuf (1863-1913 A.D.): An Egyptian journalist. 'Ali Yusuf established many political magazines such as *al-Mu'ayyad* which had a great impact on the people. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikli: *al-A'lam : qamus tarājim li ashhar al-rijāl wa al-nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-Musta'ribīn wa al-Mustashriqīn*, Beirut: (N.P.), 3ed edition, 1970, (1st ed. 1912), Vol. 5, p.67.

[3] Muṣṭafa Kāmil (1874-1908 A.D.): An Egyptian national leader. In his attempt to get the British occupation out of Egypt, he established *Al-Liwa'* magazine in Arabic, English and French. He also founded the National Party and was chosen the leader of the party to the end of his life. See Julie Meisami, Scott and, Paul Starkey, (edit): *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*, New York : Routledge, 1998, Vol.1, p.524.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Eastern Woman's Encounter with the West as Represented in *Jihān* or *Khārij al-Ḥarīm.*

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Ridā Pasha in the Novel

5.2.1 The Physical and Moralistic Description of Ridā Pasha

5.2.2 Ridā Pasha's Stance on the West

5.3 Shukrī Bey

5.4 The Image of the Westerner in the Novel, as exemplified by Von Wallenstein

5.4.1 Von Wallenstein

5.4.2 The Attitude of the Westerner to the Easterner in the Novel

5.4.3 Inconsistencies in the Character of Von Wallenstein

5.5 Jihān between the East and the West

5.5.1 Jihān and the Western Superman

5.5.2 Jihān Facing Eastern Marriage

5.5.3 Jihān and the Escape from Eastern Values

5.6 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Arabic novel flourished thanks to the work of many immigrant authors from the Levant, Christians in particular. These authors embodied the personality of the educated person in the context of the novel, which was the vehicle through which they were able to promote and distribute their new ideas.

The author Amīn al-Rīḥānī[1] had a large impact on the development of Arabic literature with the publication of his novel, *Jihān or Khārij al-Ḥarīm*[2], during the years prior to World War I. It was the only novel that was re-printed in Egypt in 1922. The novel was the result of al-Riḥānī's time abroad, where he started to compile his work in 1913, having it published in 1915.[3]

Jihān is a historical novel that portrays Turkish life in the period of rule under the Unionists. It shows the extent of German influence on the Ottoman state. During this period, the East was subjected to war and to an invasion from the strong colonising West whose aim was to loot the East of its wealth and riches.

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[1] Amīn al-Rīḥānī: Mahjar poet, prose writer and journalist. Born in Frayaka (Lebanon). Al-Riḥānī accompanied his uncle to New York in 1888, his father and the rest of his family arriving in 1889. For reasons of health, he returned to Lebanon in 1898, and was there from 1905 to 1910. After meeting Jubrān in Paris, he again returned to New York as journalist, and in that capacity he crossed the Atlantic some twenty times to visit Europe and the Arab countries. He published some fifty works in Arabic and English. Amin al-Riḥānī passed away in 1940 in his hometown of Freike. For more details see: For more details see: Julie Scott Meisami Paul, and Starkey (edit): *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*, New York: Routledge, 1998, p.662-3.

[2] Hareem, ḥarīm (that which is) prohibited or unlawful, that which a man defends and fights for, as his family, a sacred place, sanctuary, enclosure; the women's part of the house; wives, women; from ḥarama to prohibit, forbid, make unlawful. The tow Arabic words are practically synonymous, especially in countries where Arabic is not the vernacular. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner: *The Oxford English dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, Vol. VI p.1117.

[3] This date is according to Ḥamdī Sakkūt's book: *The Arabic Novel: Bibliography and Critical Introduction 1865-1995*, Cairo: American University Press, 2000.

The novel expresses the feelings and sensations of an educated woman during this time whilst going beyond that to tackle some political and social problems as well, in the shape of the spiritual problems of Jihān, an educated woman who was the author of political articles and philosophical interpretations and social writings. She was stranded between the sophisticated Westerner and the backward and traditional Eastern man who could not recognise equality between men and women.

This Chapter is divided into four sections; the first two sections discuss the characters from the East that had a major influence on the main protagonist of the novel, Jihān, these being her father, Ridā Pasha and her cousin, Shukrī Bey. The third section discusses the Western character that most affected Jihān; the German General Von Wallenstein. The fourth section of this Chapter discusses the character of Jihān as a representation of the educated Eastern woman during the period. Throughout, an effort will be made to expand on al-Riḥānī's impression of the East-West relations through his characterisations.

5.2 Ridā Pasha in the Novel

Al-Rīḥānī was vague in constructing Ridā Pasha's character as a person who had a major influence on Jihān and her behaviour both in private and in public. It represents a clear failure in character realisation, especially when presenting him as committed to Islam and Eastern customs. He attempted to force this view on the members of his family on the one hand; yet on the other he rejected Eastern society and admired Western progress.

5.2.1 The Physical and Moral Description of Ridā Pasha

Ridā Pasha is portrayed in the novel as an example of the elderly Eastern man[1]. He is a seventy-five year-old elder, medium built, jovial of face, with a charismatic appearance, irritable temper, and a shrewd mind; a fast mover and talker, whose long, rough face has a freshness that decries his age. His sharp honey-coloured eyes under his wide brows emit a joviality, always about to disappear with anger. As for his hair, it was parted in the middle and his beard, whose growth he was constantly trimming, expressed his young spirit.

Following this description al-Rīḥānī made of Ridā Pasha's face[2], he moves on to describe his body writing:

> He was one of those Easterners with a brown-skinned sturdy body, with a strong will, whose manliness was similar to those gods who are destined to live for eternity, a manliness not overcome by the passage of years, nor would his flirtations with the Harem House affect it.[3]

After describing Ridā Pasha physically, al-Riḥānī reviews his manners and the way he dealt with the innovations of the time:

> Ridā Pasha appreciated modern or European things, but in saying this we do not wish to say that he was without any bigotry, no; in fact he wanted the modern spirit but only in someone else's house, not his own. He is a modern Turk one moment and in another moment old-fashioned, solid, opinionated, inflexible in managing his private and public affairs.[4]

The duplicity of values that Ridā Pasha exhibited represents the attitudes of a large sector of Eastern society at the time, in particular the wealthy class. It also summed up the irony

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[1] Amin al-Riḥānī, *Jihān,* Cairo: Maktabat al-Shakhshīrī, 1922, p.13. The first edition was published by New York: Mir'āt al-Gharb, 1915.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp.12-13.

and conflict of values of the man who wanted openness and freedom regarding someone else's woman if he were to benefit from it, but not for his own womenfolk. He is, according to al-Rīḥānī's description, a 'modern Turk' one moment then later an 'old-fashioned' and 'inflexible' Turk, depending on what suited him best.

Ridā Pasha was an old man who carried a lot of sadness with him over the loss of his sons at a young age, all sacrificed for the good of the Ottoman state. The first son was buried in Yemen, the second in Libya, and the third one fell at the doors of Edirne[1]. He was very disappointed with the state of his nation and worried about his political future, where he felt external pressures to get rid of him. He had lost his three sons in battles to secure the nation, this tragedy heightened by the fact that the death of his son Majīd was not at the hands of the French enemy, but rather he was betrayed by his German allies.

5.2.2 Ridā Pasha's Stance on the West

Ridā Pasha's position regarding the West was distorted and not very clear. He did not have a decisive opinion on the issue of the West's relationship with the East, but that does not mean that Ridā Pasha was not impressed with Western civilisation and modernity. His attitude was similar to many Easterners at that particular time.

Ridā Pasha had some animosity towards the West, but mainly focused on Germany. Al-Rīḥānī does not describe the French, English or Italians negatively in his novel but presents the Germans as wicked. This is despite popular opinion which would have argued that the Germans, even on the face of it, were assisting the East against violent

[1] A town in Turkey.

military attacks by the other European countries. This is because in Turkey at the time, authority, power and decision-making were in the hands of the Germans who dominated not only the Sultan and the government, but also the people of Turkey.

Al-Rīḥānī describes Ridā Pasha's position as that of being against the Germans and for the policies of England and France:

> In that respect, his hatred for the Germans did not matter as long as he helped and encouraged the policies of England and France officially at the *Sublime Porte* and achieved victory repeatedly both in the political field and in battle.[1]

Ridā Pasha is described as an old warrior who had lost three of his sons in sacrifice for his nation, yet he still campaigned against the war with France and England.[2] He admired the ways of Europe. The dearest woman to him was Sulima (Jihān's mother). Ridā Pasha used to allow her to receive male guests with her face uncovered because despite his strict observance of religious traditions in his country, outside Turkey he was lenient.[3]

Although Ridā Pasha spent a lot on his daughter Jihān's education according to the European fashion, he was concerned about her with regard to 'wicked' European teachings. By this he meant the study of the German philosopher *Nietzsche*[4]. Ridā Pasha

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[1] Amin al-Riḥānī, *Jihān,* p.13.
[2] *Ibid.,* p.16.
[3] *Ibid.,* p.15.
[4] Friedrich Nietzsche, born 15th October 1844, in Röcken, Saxony, Prussia [now in Germany], died 25th August 1900, Weimar, Thuringian States. He was a classical scholar, philosopher, and critic of culture, who became one of the most influential of all modern thinkers. His attempts to unmask the motives that underlie traditional Western religion, morality, and philosophy deeply affected generations of theologians, philosophers, psychologists, poets, novelists, and playwrights. Nietzsche challenged the foundations of traditional morality and Christianity. He believed in life, creativity, health, and the realities of the world we live in, rather than those situated in a world beyond. Central to Nietzsche's philosophy is the idea of 'life-affirmation,' which involves an honest questioning of all doctrines which drain life's energies, however socially prevalent those views might be. Often referred to as one of the first 'existentialist' philosophers, Nietzsche has inspired leading figures in all walks of cultural life, including poets, novelists, painters, psychologists, philosophers, sociologists and social revolutionaries. For more details about Nietzsche see: *Encyclopaedia Britannica 2004* Deluxe Edition CD.

was very worried about his daughter's mind being affected by him.[1]

When Ridā Pasha forbade his daughter from going out, his excuse was that Istanbul was full of German and Turkish spies. However, he did not mention the fact that there were also spies from the enemy countries, which would have been more correct. Ridā Pasha explained his animosity towards the Germans and his political stance in a long dialogue with his daughter:

> Jihān: Father, why do you torment me over this man again?
> Ridā Pasha: I do not deny to you that I hate him and I am worried that his coming to our home will cause us a predicament. I will repeat to you what I said last night; what the press is publishing about both of you is a shame to my name. I have not discussed with you before our alliance to Germany.
> I still believe that it is an alliance that represents a crime against our people and a crime against Islam and Muslims, but it is for you to see what you wish in this matter. I have to repeat what I said yesterday; that a family alliance with a German is impossible and there is no denying that you will at least agree that it is not in the least a wise thing at all. Do not think that I am resisting it for religious reasons, no... I am not a religious person nor a religious scholar, but I do not want it for instinctive and intellectual reasons. Jihān, you are sensible and wise, what do you say about this man? He is today the absolute ruler in Istanbul, you say we should be close to him, but Jihān, is not this German a stranger to our life, traditions, language, manners, religion and customs? Apart from this he is a widower and his age is twice yours.[2]

Despite this, Ridā Pasha was incapable of doing anything as he did not have much control or authority either at home or outside. Al-Riḥānī paints a picture of Ridā Pasha's position as the colonised individual who had no say regarding the things he held closest to him such as his daughter, who was being 'taken' from him both physically (by the General) and mentally (through the teachings of Nietzsche).

He was unable to prevent Shukrī Bey (his nephew) from going to war. When he heard that there was a military order requiring his nephew to go to war he says desperately:

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[1] Amīn al-Rīḥānī, *Jihān*, p.16.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.26.

"But I wrote to him [meaning Shukri Bey], not to travel before he sees me... I swear by Allah and the Prophet that Shukrī Bey will not go to the battle field..."[1]

When asked as to the reason for his anger, he responds: "I have given the nation three of my children, and the fourth one, Majīd Bey, is also in the battle field and may not come back alive, I may not see him again."[2]

Al-Rīḥānī then presents the Pasha's illusions of grandeur, his imaginary fantasy of power when the Pasha says: "I was able to spark a revolution to finish the Germans or to remove them from Istanbul in a single day!"[3]. He describes the situation that the Ottoman army was suffering from: "They have had enough, they can not obey barbaric orders any more."[4] He then reviews himself and his situation as if he is making excuses and reasons for himself saying: "But I remained quiet not for them, but for my master and sovereign the Sultan who is the only one for whom I bow my head. I am going to the Sultan immediately to seek an interview with his Majesty. Shukrī Bey will not march to the battlefield to serve the whim of an oppressive foreigner..."[5]

Degradation and humiliation are recurring feelings amongst colonised people. The reaction of Ridā Pasha on reading the name of his youngest son was only grief and sorrow. "Let God Almighty's will be done, but His grace comes to us either easily or slowly, one day you don't deserve it, and the other day you can do without it", he says as his eyes fill with tears.[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.31.
[6] *Ibid.*, p.35.

Even when Shukrī Bey informs Ridā of the details behind the death of his son, Majīd Bey, and that he did not die in battle but rather due to German betrayal, he does not burst out in rage, despite the fact that he receives this news shortly before the visit of the German General, Von Wallenstein. He merely prevents his daughter from meeting him, not out of anger, but to allow her to calm down. He decides that he should meet the General in her place, but before long he decides not to meet him after all, preferring to give Shukrī Bey the newspaper with the news of his son's death, asking him to show it to the General and to apologise on his behalf for not meeting him that day.

> The servant came in announcing the arrival of General Von Wallenstein. Jihān rose from her place while Shukri remained motionless in his place.
> 'I shall meet him.'
> 'Go to your room, daughter.'
> 'No, I have to see him.'
> 'You will not see him today, my daughter, be patient until your anger calms down. Now go to your room.'
> Jihān fell back into her chair, covering her face with her hands. Ridā Pasha handed the newspaper to Shukrī Bey saying: 'Show him this passage, and tell him that I cannot meet him today.'[1]

Ridā Pasha's inner repulsion towards the Germans is clearly strong, yet he dare not display it. Even in his conversation with the General, on a second visit to see how Jihān is doing after hearing the news of her brother's death, his words were only symbolic, even fearful of the consequences that may follow if he were to show his feelings in a clear and unequivocal way. Ridā Pasha's feelings are suppressed, he feels incapable of doing anything, powerless to change what is happening to his country, incapable even to change what is happening in his own house; his conversation with the German demonstrates his weakness and humiliation, despite some traces of sharpness and dignity:

> 'Your Excellency was aware of that when you wrote informing me of His Majesty the Emperor's grant to my son. If you were kind you would have hidden that from

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

> me after his death. If you were merciful you would have felt sorry for the condition of an aged Turk seeking tranquillity and peace and you would have dispensed with that mockery and sarcasm. Moreover, your Excellency, your Iron Cross is a tasteless reward and a weak consolation for a father who lost his son.'[1]

His conversation with the German General only resulted in his being led to prison a few days later, charged with high treason and with maintaining relationships with the country's enemy, the French Allies, as well as with the opposition to the Sultan in France. Amin al-Riḥānī gives a suitably tragic end to the life of the character of Ridā Pasha; his imprisonment is followed by his death in custody; he is killed by the Germans just like his son, Majīd Bey, although the official story is that he committed suicide. It is as if Amīn al-Rīḥānī wanted to suggest that this tragic end awaited everyone who opposed the colonial occupier.

However, Amīn al-Rīḥānī did not mean for Ridā Pasha's character to represent opposition against Western civilisation or the West, but rather opposition to Germany which supported the Ottoman Empire. The Allied powers on the other hand are not mentioned in any way that suggests disapproval with them. That was obviously due to Amīn al-Rīḥānī's relationship with some Allied countries, which we can easily infer when reading his biography on that period.

5.3 Shukrī Bey

Shukrī Bey is Jihān's cousin and fiancé. It was not Jihān's choice, but her father's wish that she should marry him. Shukrī Bey was an officer in the Ottoman army and his role in

[1] *Ibid.*, p.64.

the novel is restricted to his desire not to go to war but to stay in Istanbul. Through Shukrī Bey's character, Amīn al-Rīḥānī presents the image of the occupied individual who struggles to achieve his own personal ambitions. Shukrī Bey is described as a young, handsome man of a pleasant appearance. He is good-natured, modern and cultured, but his character is a mixture of cruelty and servile flattery. If he does somebody wrong, he rarely looks him in the face.[1]

According to Amīn al-Rīḥānī, the Turks, in the view of the West, are characterised as devious and untrustworthy. He expresses this through Ridā Pasha:

> 'You know my son; we Turks are known in Europe for our deception, servile flattery and injustice. This reputation was brought upon us by those who are at the helm of our affairs; they are responsible for this shame attached to the whole nation, or can an individual ward off the shame attached to society as a whole?'[2]

In his evasive attempt to attach these traits to the Turkish people, while at the same time blaming this on the statesmen and not the citizens, al-Rīḥānī tries to appease the Turks by saying: "it is not you, but your leaders". But he retracts his position by portraying Shukrī Bey as striving after his own ends, whatever the means, even if that involves humiliating his prospective wife and asking her to meet the General for him.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī tries to find justifications for Shukri Bey by explaining, in his own words, the state that the Ottoman Empire has ended up in:

> 'But I am confident that my departure to war will not be cancelled and I believe that I will certainly be leaving tomorrow. I might not be coming back to see you Jihān, for you know that His Majesty the Sultan does not have but very limited powers these days, and the Germans have robbed him of his power. None of our

[1] *Ibid.*, p.41.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.41.

> ministers, nor even our sheikhs or the Sheikh of Islam can oppose him. Didn't you reflect on that; don't you think it is wise to be friendly to him and to flatter him? I might have been rash in my behaviour with the General but I cannot bear to see any person who harbours evil designs against the women of my race, let alone that the man is a German, and a Christian too'.[1]

He then implores Jihān: "Will you see him then for my sake, I mean for the sake of all of us?" When Jihān refuses his request, believing that it would be best for him to go to defend his country, Shukrī tries to remind Jihān of her father and his wish:

> 'Be reasonable, I don't believe you will break your father's heart and I don't believe you will torment the slave of your love... I will stay with you in Istanbul. If you don't want to go to Konya, meet General Von Wallenstein tomorrow for my sake." He adds: "Though His Excellency is German, he has learned politics in our school. Hence, I myself will no longer believe in what he promises. We therefore have to treat him the same way he treats us and be evasive and cunning with him...'[2]

The psychological inconsistency in Shukri Bey's character leads him to fluctuate between refusing and accepting any means to satisfy his personal interests. He goes to meet the General to implore him to retract his departure order. The General turns down his request. Shukrī then tries to gain the favour of the General by disclosing to him a plan to assassinate him, devised by some soldiers trying to avenge the death of Majīd Bey at the hands of the Germans. The General responds: "That is a useful piece of information, yet instead of simply warning me, be more generous and tell me the names of those who conspire against me." Shukrī answers: "At your service, General, their names are at your disposal, but there is the question of my case..."[3] At this point, the General realises that Shukri Bey wants to inform on the conspirators in return for a cancellation of his departure order. He is immediately arrested. At this moment the true nature of the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.42.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.45.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.85.

coloniser becomes clear. However hard the colonised people try to serve the occupier, the occupier will remain ungrateful. This is the moment of transformation from loyalty to revolt and resistance. Shukrī suddenly shakes off the policemen, draws his gun and tries to shoot the General. However, he misses the target and is finally put on trial and executed.

Al-Riḥānī tries, through Shukrī Bey's character, to shed light on an important side of the Germans' relationship with the Ottomans. Although they were supposed to be comrades in arms, it was the German who became commander and master over the other. Also, those Turks who, in their own country stood against German wishes were, like Shukrī Bey, to be trampled upon.

5.4 The Image of the Westerner in the Novel, as Exemplified by Von Wallenstein

Al-Rīḥānī's description of Westerners in this novel is not a positive one. He does not generalise, but reserves the negative depiction for the Germans, who, even though they have come to help fight the imperialistic assault against the Ottoman Empire, are, according to al-Rīḥānī, an ally more evil and fierce than the enemy. They are described as tyrants in the capital of the Empire, as will be seen in this section.

5.4.1 Von Wallenstein

Amīn al-Rīḥānī does not elaborate or go into much detail in his description of the German General, but instead concentrates on the General's role in the novel. His behaviour is that

of the despotic imperialist who aims to achieve his objectives with ruthlessness and deceit, taking advantage of his opponents (the colonised people), who look up to him with awe, and consider him to be stronger and cleverer. Even Amīn al-Rīḥānī cannot hide his admiration for this European demigod, with all his cunning and shrewdness.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī mentions that Von Wallenstein is a widower in his forties, whose beautiful wife had died before the start of the war, as if to indicate that Von Wallenstein initially set his sights on Jihān as a kind of compensation for his loss. He chooses Jihān, not just for her ravishing Turkish beauty, but for her modern, European-style upbringing.

Amīn Al-Rīḥānī recounts the German General's thoughts of Jihān: he describes her upbringing, then her looks; her manners were French, but her breath-taking beauty was more similar to the German ideal of beauty. The General goes on to ask himself: "Why should I not want a Muslim woman if her upbringing, manners and beauty are European?"[1]

For the General, the most important factor in his choice of woman is her European manners and culture. If, apart from that, her features are Eastern, then he does not see a problem in it. It is the Western view of superiority over everything that is non-Western, to everything that is different and will never rise to the standards of the West, unless it assimilates itself into it. The Easterner has nothing else on which to build an independent personality. Jihān's personality is Eastern in appearance but Western in substance. Even

[1] *Ibid.*, p.18.

her outer appearance is similar to the European ideal of beauty, which fascinates Amīn al-Rīḥānī.

5.4.2 The Attitude of the Westerner to the Easterner in the Novel

The attitude of the Westerner to the Easterner in the novel is that of the strong to the weak, the attitude of the holder of power, honour, personality and identity to the one devoid of personality and identity, except the identity of weakness. The Easterner's weakness drives him to submissiveness, hypocrisy and flattery in order to secure some crumbs off the plates of the Westerners with their highly developed culture.

When Majīd Bey dies, the German General feels no compassion for the sorrow and pain of the father, Ridā Pasha, and the sister, Jihān. According to him, it should be consolation enough that the Emperor has awarded him the Iron Cross.

Von Wallenstein leaves the house of Ridā Pasha, who does not come out to meet him due to the circumstances of his son's death. The news of the son's death had been delivered to them a short while earlier, but still, the German is infuriated when he leaves the house. He asks himself: What if his son had died? Isn't the Emperor's award consoling enough? Is it not an honour for his house, a privilege for his family, which would raise them in esteem for generations to come? These thoughts continue to drift through his head, and he continues to talk to himself: "At a time like this he should have been welcoming people to accept their congratulations".[1] Al-Rīḥānī alludes to the perception that dying for the West is an honour beyond all honours. The author continues: "He left in the carriage,

[1] *Ibid.*, p.38.

livid with fury. Doesn't that behaviour constitute an insult from a Turk to a German? How insolent! Is this Turk looking down on the Emperor's award? This is an unforgivable crime."[1]

The German General does not for one second ponder over the fact that it was his benefactor who killed Majīd Bey. The victim remains indebted to his killer. It is an honour to die at the hands of a German, if you are one of the 'Others', the Easterners.

5.4.3 Inconsistencies in the Character of Von Wallenstein

The character of the German General in the novel remains full of inconsistencies: he is good-natured and amiable, willing to convert to Islam for his beloved. He tells Jihān:

> 'You are an Ottoman woman, but with your manners you are superior to all women. You have been nourished by our culture and civilisation, my beautiful and dear Jihān. Come back to your senses, you know that I admire your people and respect your traditions. That is why I like to live among them and support them. I heed your sincere call. I am a Muslim keen on serving the interests of your people, just like you are. If you want, a Muslim sheikh will marry us.'[2]

Al-Riḥānī further writes, in the words of Shukrī Bey: "That sly fox! – [meaning the German General] – who converts to Islam for her sake..."[3] He demonstrates his admiration for his Turkish friends and adopts some of their customs, until his demeanour has become partly Turkish: his policies are Turkish, his actions German[4]. Cruelty and harshness do not work with Easterners, in his opinion, for it is better to deal with them by way of cunning and deviousness.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.49.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.103.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.64.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.57.

Von Wallenstein emulates Napoleon, and even surpasses him in order to reach his goal; if Napoleon toyed with the idea of converting to Islam, the General surpasses him and goes on to marry a Turkish Muslim woman.

Al-Rīḥānī's portrayal of the character of Von Wallenstein is slightly exaggerated and inconsistent: he is good-natured and amiable, but evil and devious. These contradictions would only have been possible in an extraordinary character – that of Von Wallenstein, German General and European demigod in a subjugated East.

As a matter of fact the women of the Middle East have fascinated male travellers since the earliest journeys between the two worlds. The mysteries of the veil and the harem, neither of which they could penetrate, led to the wildest fantasies. These views were formed and perpetuated in numerous works of literature and travel, largely a male preoccupation until the nineteenth century.

The West has always feminized the East as inferior and regarded it with a mixture of attraction and repulsion. On most occasions European men approached the Middle East with a combination of desire and contempt, evidenced by their mixed reactions. They wanted to see and possess Eastern women without love, insisting that they were very different from Western women. Indeed, according to Rana Kabbani, Eastern women were doubly vulnerable; as the colonized they could be possessed by the West together with their land, and as women they were already an inferior section of the population.[1]

[1] Ranā Kabbānī, *Europe's Myths of the Orient*, p.81

The positive, romantic views of Middle Eastern women were exemplified by many well-known writers who were deeply excited by their visions of Arab womanhood, some of which are mentioned here. However, a few observers seemed to appreciate the pains of continuous childbearing, hard labour, and climate in bringing about premature ageing in the Eastern countries.

5.5 Jihān between the East and the West

Al-Riḥānī was explicit in his presentation of Jihān's character in the novel, presenting her as a heroine in her call to take up Western principles and European culture. It is clear that al-Riḥānī had become quite enchanted with Western civilisation, his work being prime evidence of the extent to which he was a product of encroaching Western values.

Frantz Fanon spoke in his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, about the stages of development that appear in the production of literary works by the writers and scholars of colonised countries. He divided this development into three phases, they are:

1) *The Phase of Admiration*, being led and influenced by anything European, as well as calling for its implementation in the Eastern intellectual's own society.

2) *The Phase of Dispersement*, when the intellectual grows up with these imported principles and absorbs them all, but is never able to fully assimilate into the coloniser's culture. It is the feeling of rejection because after all he has done, he concludes that he will never become a Westerner, and thus the scholar will then try to look for his identity and answer crucial questions: Who is he? Where is he from?

3) *The Fighting Phase*, is when the intellectual takes a leading role in resistance, inciting his people against the occupation and fighting everything that is not nationalistic. We

could see signs of this appearing at the end of the novel but it remained weak and unclear.[1]

The model example of the Eastern woman according to al-Rīḥānī is personified by Jihān's character. Al-Rīḥānī was clearly between stages one and two of those experienced by colonised intellectuals. He created a unique model of this prototype, living the tragedy in full, that of the Arab generation searching for itself in the early twentieth century, despite the substantial influence from the occupying Western force dominating it culturally and financially.

Jihān embodied the phase of bedazzlement with the West, mirroring the situation of al-Riḥānī himself. His novel conveys the principles of the French revolution which he recorded in 1900 in his first book, *al-Mūjiz fī al-Thawra al-Firansiyya* (*A Summary of the French Revolution*). Therefore, Jihān, 'who stamped her name with her own hand on herself, after she rubbed away the ideologies and customs that had been inscribed on it' was aspiring for freedom. She used to welcome it in all its forms, particularly 'dressed in the Prophet's teachings',[2] which called for developing society and modernising it based on Islamic teachings. In her imagination she went further than that, hoping for justice, equality and freedom 'for herself and her nation, a golden wish that became clear to her like a gospel inspiration on a beautiful dawn.'[3] But there were many obstacles due to society's stubbornness and the ferocity of man devouring his fellow men.

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[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp.178-179.

[2] Amin al-Riḥānī, *Jihān*, p.1.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.9.

The first obstacle she had to overcome was her father's views on social matters. This was a big and important issue to overcome, because an Easterner usually submits with full acceptance to his family's wishes, particularly his parents.

Jihān was a committed Muslim whose duty was to promote its principles. This is why the Imam took a positive stance towards her and supported her in the many cases she put forward. As the verse from the Holy Qur'ān said: 'Your Lord has commanded that you should not serve any but Him, and that you be kind to your parents. If either or both of them reach an old age with you, say no word that shows impatience with them and do not be harsh with them, but speak to them respectfully'.[1] Thus, it would have been difficult to go against the wishes of her father who wanted to kill the Western spirit within her and to limit her freedom. He orders her:

> 'From now on, you must not go out barefaced or unless chaperoned by one of the servants. You must not make speeches or be involved with politics or write articles in the newspapers. Before all this, you must refrain from meeting the General Von Wallenstein, his politics and corresponding with him'.[2]

Her tragedy was obvious in the terrible prison created around her. In spite of all this, Jihān had decided for herself the path she was going to take, for as the author writes: 'her mind was Western in its manners, education and upbringing'[3]. She did not let go of Nietzsche's book *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* for a single day, which she was translating from German into Turkish:

> She was also correct in her conscience and was sincere in what she said and what she did; above all she had good taste, shrewdness and sophistication. She had deep knowledge of the society and political ways, worthy of being one of

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[1] M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, *The Qur'ān, A New Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. *The Night Journey* (17: 23), p. 176.
[2] Amīn al-Rīḥānī, *Jihān*, p.9.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.5.

> America's leaders who are calling for women's rights or one of England's noble women or one of the leading ladies of scholarship and culture in Paris.[1]

Al-Rīḥānī escalated the tragedy of Jihān's perplexity by increasing her burden. He reveals the character of an intellectually aware woman, an important character to portray, because after all, women are the mainstay of the nation if given freedom and standing in society. She says, regarding potential marriage:

> I do not present myself as a victim, nor do I seek retribution, but I do seek my happiness for the sake of myself in response to my freedom, the freedom to select the father of my child, it is my sacred right, and it makes no difference whether it is a boy or a girl. A girl would follow my lead in freeing Eastern women and would finish the work I started. A boy, with God's help, would grow up to be a hero, a useful leader, he would be the saviour of our nation and an elixir for our crumbling country; it may not be possible to realise my hopes with a man from within my nation.[2]

However, the character of Jihān is marked by ambiguity and contradiction. Perhaps al-Rīḥānī was concerned only with idolizing her character and thus failed in harmonising her characteristics. We see many generalisations of his heroine: 'But Jihān was not Eastern at all, nor was she ever a Westerner, and had not exceeded her activity and prowess in being a modern woman'[3].

The contradictory combination of Western and Eastern cultures in Jihān's character seems to have confused the author himself. He writes of Jihān that she 'as of today, does not submit to Man's tyranny and injustice. It makes no difference if he was a husband or a brother or father, nor if he had a crown and a sceptre'[4], but she submits to men in all these examples, as a husband when she allows the General to do what he likes with her,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.54.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.7.

even though she is capable of resisting, and relying on the great strength of her people. She submitted to her father's wishes when she followed the religious advice: 'Honour thy parents'[1], a characteristic of the people of the East and one of their most sacred traditions. The author did not allow her to retain her dignity or her principles. Jihān is laden with the spirit of freedom; she contributed to freeing women, especially those in the circles closest to her. However, she failed in all her other objectives. The author justifies her seemingly contradictory nature writing that she was 'strange in her temperaments and contrasting desires and hopes.'[2] This lack of harmony and conformity in her principles caused her to become very limited in her ability to change things. She was one moment a believer in her faith, most of her supporters were quite religious, but then another moment a rebel, modern and European in her ways, unable to implement her vision of true Islamic customs or European modernity in her own life. Therefore, 'this woman, the Muslim woman of European taste, education and beauty'[3] was born a prisoner to traditional Eastern culture.

5.5.1 Jihān and the Western Superman

Jihān was attracted to Von Wallenstein because he was a Westerner representing a civilisation that had enchanted her, the civilisation of strength; as Nietzsche had said: '*The Will to Power*'.[4] She wanted the West embodied in the German General so as to present to the world the highest form of human civilisation through their association, because, as she said: "It would be impossible to achieve my hopes with a man from my

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.25.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.9.
[4] For more details see: Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to the Power*, New York: Vintage, 1968, p.550.

nation"[1] as "no Turkish young man can be a friend, a companion and a husband at the same time"[2]. A good example to illustrate the higher civilisation she saw in Von Wallenstein is when she thinks to herself that 'his lips will kiss her hands, instead of her kissing his hands as was the custom for Eastern women.'[3] She makes the association with the German philosopher Nietzsche and his idea of the righteousness of the opposite compared with familiar standards and virtues. It was because of him that she focused on the Western aspects of her upbringing. She decided to bear a Prussian child with him, 'either as a sacrifice or as revenge'[4]. It was then that the General, representing the West shows his true colours and betrays her, destroying Jihān's belief and shrine to the superiority of Western civilisation.

Here, the author, Amīn al-Rīḥānī and his heroine move from the stage of enchantment with the West as described by Fanon, to the stage of looking for original identity and resisting Western influence. This is when the lover becomes the enemy, and in response, hatred and retribution become a fixed object in the mind of Von Wallenstein.

His hatred is not only towards the Turks but towards all Eastern nations and he chooses to exact vengeance on everything Eastern around him, particularly those who, like Jihān, gave him love and loyalty and were attracted to him and what he represented.

Von Wallenstein takes revenge on her father, her cousin and even her brother. He executes them all without any mercy. He was not satisfied with all this, so he sought his revenge from Jihān herself because she hesitated in declaring her love for him. This was

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[1] Amīn al-Riḥānī, *Jihān*, p.51.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.52.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.28.

due to the many conditions imposed on her: her father's objection to her marriage and her cousin Shukrī's love for her in addition to political and religious sensibilities. However, she confessed her love for him and said she would accept anything from him as long as he released her father and cousin. He got what he wanted from her to satisfy his lust and then discarded her after she declared her feelings for him.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī wanted, through the example of Von Wallenstein and Jihān to represent the total failure of the East-West marriage. Despite the fact that Von Wallenstein had made some cultural compromises and had embraced the East somewhat, as well as Jihān having embraced some Western values to get closer to her lover, they disagreed in their objectives and intent.

She refuses marriage due to her belief that it would not work between them. He persists: "I ask you for the second time to accept me as your husband."[1] However, she remains steadfast in her refusal: "I will not come near a Christian,"[2] although this refusal was tinged with 'regret and sadness'[3]. She summed up her principle as being, "no Turk and no foreigner, no Muslim nor a European who converts to Islam."[4] But, deep inside she culturally belonged to the West and wished to marry a Westerner, Von Wallenstein. What she really wanted from him was a child: 'the wedding celebrations in accordance to the Christian or Muslim traditions did not matter much to her. She wanted to give herself to

[1] Amīn al-Riḥānī, *Jihān*, p.102.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.103.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.104.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.104.

him for her main purpose, so their relationship would be sacred even though for a short time.'[1]

5.5.2 Jihān Facing Eastern Marriage

Shukrī Bey was the closest person to Jihān from her own culture. He represented the East which was suffering the pain being inflicted on it by the West. He did not wish for his cousin to marry a German not because he loved her, but because she was his relative and a Muslim, and this could not be accepted. For this reason, he disobeyed the German General and was ready to leave battle 'to achieve his desire from Jihān'[2]. This was also what drove Ridā Pasha to oppose Shukrī going to battle, because in going to war he would be under the command of a foreigner and may give the opportunity for the German General to be alone with Jihān. This is why Ridā Pasha shouted: "orders from a foreigner are not to be obeyed and cannot be taken."[3]

But the story for Jihān changes to a struggle between love and duty. Can she accept her cousin staying away from war because of her, while the enemies are fast approaching? Can she accept Shukrī Bey avoiding the battlefield so that he can marry her, and how will this husband remain respectable when he abandons his national duties to follow his feelings?

Shukrī justifies his plan to avoid war to Jihān: "do not misunderstand me, you know that I am obedient to you and I am loyal to my country, but what can one do when he is trapped

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.105.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.31.

between duty and love?"[1] Jihān replies: "In national crisis, a person must be nationalistic and brave"[2] to which Shukrī has to reply: "I do not want to see you torturing the one who adores you. I will go to the battlefield if you want me to."[3]

No doubt, this discussion exhibits the contradiction in behaviour and the particulars of Jihān's character. She did not reject Shukrī because he wanted to avoid his nationalist duty; his past stood as testament to his bravery as a soldier. Jihān rejected him because in doing so, she was avoiding the possibility of her having to marry an Eastern man. In doing so she is in agreement with General Von Wallenstein to send Shukrī away and involve him in battle, even to organise his killing.

Khārij al-Ḥarīm does not lead to the success of Jihān and Shukrī in their pursuit, because Jihān's tendency is towards reconciliation between East and West regardless of the matter of love and duty. Thus it is another failure in the realisation of her character in the novel. For this reason she curses Nietzsche and humiliates the Western man represented by the 'blond monster'[4], which Nietzsche describes as the superior man of the future in his book *Thus Spoke Zarathustra.*

On another occasion she supports the principle of power: "Yes my dear Shukrī, everything changes these days and nothing can last in wars except power. As for the people and their views, they are all victims of war, of power." He answers her saying: "Is this what your philosopher is teaching?"[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.46.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.44.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.46.
[4] Al-Riḥānī in the novel describes the General four times by this description
[5] Amīn al-Riḥānī, *Jihān,* p.44

5.5.3 Jihān and the Escape from Eastern Values

Jihān was fleeing from her Eastern values. Her claim to be committed to Islam and its principles often falters: "Polygamy in Islam is not acceptable... *'But if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one. That will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing injustice...* '[1] I read it another time, and it says, 'only one'. I wonder what a man's fairness towards a woman is? Does the Prophet allow him four wives then ask him to be fair?"[2]

The author used the character of Jihān to try and reduce the barriers between East and West so that they would become virtually indistinguishable, particularly with regards to women. To this end, Jihān gave up many of her Eastern values. However, paraphrasing Nietzsche, the author wrote: 'the Blond Monster is huge and frightening, he had revealed his fangs to kill.'[3] The 'blond monster' refers not only to the General, but to all Westerners. Of two cultures coming together, one has to be dominant, whereas the other has to be sacrificed, hence the 'fangs' of Western cultural hegemony over the East.

The fact remains that the ideas she was translating into Turkish, 'English maxims, French sayings, and important German facts'[4] had all failed in practice, whereas religion and Eastern customs had not done much for Jihān either:

> 'What is the use of the numerous prophets, they are all the same when it comes to women; love – mercy – fairness, it is all bestowed on women by men, it is all a benevolence from a man; whether he is Eastern or Western, a prophet, a poet or a porter, who doesn't accompany a woman except with a whip to go along with her, this is what all the prophets would say, from the first to the last. Each one echoes the other. Is the whip the father of freedom born to a woman? Has this blond beast arrived from the north accidentally to humiliate me and to make me a mother?'[5]

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[1] As translated in M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, *The Qur'an, A New Translation, Luqmān*, (31:15).
[2] Amīn al-Riḥānī, *Jihān*, p.120.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.116.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.118.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.118.

Although she is expressing a fact; the crisis of Eastern women and the character of Eastern people, she was able to make something of her life. If she had chosen to be truthful with herself and her cultural background she may have been alright, but she chose to withdraw, she chose reconciliation without making sure that her two children from the General would combine what she had chosen from the East and West. She is not able to choose wisely due to the contradictions of her character, which like al-Riḥānī himself, is suffering from the split personality caused by cultural abandonment. Therefore she is an imitator, she copies other people's roles out of books. She is a rebel, but she does not know what she is rebelling against.

5.6 Conclusion

At the end of *Jihān* we witness a return to Eastern romanticism in the killing of Von Wallenstein by Jihān. With this, al-Rīḥānī indicates Jihān's victory over the General, the victory of the East and the death of the Western character inside Jihān. But more important is the interaction of the two civilisations, East and West represented through this relationship; the child to be born to Jihān, her son whom al-Riḥānī called 'al-Mustafa', for whom she will write her first book *'The New Nation'*. The name al-Muṣṭafā brings to mind is the name of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), who led a social, political, religious and economical revolution that upturned all the standards of the age. So Jihān hopes that al-Muṣṭafa Von Wallenstein will be a prophet who will combine the best traits of the East and the West and will be an example of reconciliation that the two worlds are seeking to achieve.

CHAPTER SIX

The Eastern Woman as seen by the Western Characters in *Fatāt Miṣr* (The Maiden of Egypt) by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf

6.1 Introduction

6.2 The Western Side of the Novel

6.3 A Description of Western Materialistic Civilisation

6.4. English Splendour

6.5 The Role of Dora

6.6 Dora's and Henry's Views of the East

6.7 The Reasons for Eastern Civilisation's Backwardness in Dora's Point of View

6.8 The Japanese Model

6.9 Bahiyya, the Symbol of the East

6.10. Bahiyya's Character and her Role in the Novel

6.11 The Beginning of the Relationship between Henry and Bahiyya

6.12 Dora and a Less Extreme View of the East

6.12 Western Languages and an Open Society

6.13 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter discusses the idea of intermarriage between East and West through the vision of Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf[1] in the novel *Fatāt Miṣr* published in 1906. Ṣarrūf named his novel *The Maiden of Egypt* so as to symbolise the whole nation in one woman. He fought against the West not through resistance, but by the opinions he expressed through his writing. Was the relationship between East and West built on peace and understanding? The following sections will discuss the relationship between Henry (who represents the West) and Bahiyya (who represents the East). The conclusions will help to answer the following questions: how was the Western man imagined and seen by the Eastern woman? What were the views of the Westerner's family (in this case Dora, Henry's sister) regarding the Eastern woman? What were the factors that influenced the relationship between the West and the East? How did the author describe the City of London and materialistic life in the West? And finally, what, according to the writer, was the East lacking in order to attain the high levels of development found in the West? This chapter then analyses the main obstacles to East-West relations and introduces suggestions to overcome it.

[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927), Lebanese journalist, novelist and translator. Born in al-Hadath, Ṣarrūf was educated at the Syrian Protestant College and taught in Lebanon before immigrating to Egypt in 1885. A Maronite who subsequently converted to Protestantism, he is best known as co-founder in 1876, with Faris Nimr, of the journal *al-Muqtaṭaf*, which played an important role in disseminating scientific ideas in the Arab Middle East. In addition to numerous articles and translations, Ṣarruf also published three novels *Fatāt Miṣr, Fatāt al-Fayyūm* and *Amīr Lubnān* (1907); the last of these deals with religious conflicts in Lebanon during the 1850s and 1860s. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, (eds) *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature, Vol.2*, p.692.

6.2 The Western Side of the Novel

The physical characteristics of the characters as described in the novel are generally superficial or non-existent. The author focused on the character as a tool to get his ideas and cultural intentions across. Generally speaking, his characters lacked colour; he did not treat them analytically and did not try to portray them as live, vibrant and interacting with events.

So, when he describes Henry as: 'A tall young man, slimly built, with snub nose, soft cheeks, black eyes and black hair'[1], this description is contrary to most Arab authors' descriptions of the Western man as having blue eyes and blond hair. Perhaps he was trying to bring the appearance of this character closer to that of Easterners. The West's bond and closeness to the East was not only in its ideas, but in physical similarities too, hence all people have common features despite geographical differences.

But contrary to this, we find the author describing Henry's sister Dora as a typical Westerner, writing: 'His sister, who is younger than him, was much more white, blond and of medium build'. We find that she is not only the polar opposite of her brother (and the East) in appearance, when the author writes: 'she is the opposite of her brother in looks and manners'.[2]

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tries through his description of Henry Brown's family to present to us a European family in general and not a solely English family. This is the reason he decided to mix the nationalities of the family, making the mother French and the father Scottish.

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[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, *Fatāt Miṣr*, Cairo: Matba'at al-Muqtaṭaf, 1922, 4th Edition, p.1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.1.

6.3 A Description of Western Materialistic Civilisation

The author passionately described London, which at the time was the capital of the 'Empire on which the sun never set', in an attempt to interest his readers. His description was not exaggerated but he tried in a journalistic style to depict the buildings and districts of the city. He writes: 'In one of the new London districts there is less congestion and wide, empty space. The benefit of the space left un-built is to renew the air, purify and sterilise the blood, and rejuvenate the bodies.'[1]

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf describes Sir Edward Brown's house: 'A big house, more like a stately palace built in the style of ancient castles, surrounded by a lush, wide garden, surrounded by trees. The autumn wind blew through the trees with its flowering blossoms, even the bees were deceived by it and began landing on it to collect some of the pollen they could find in it'[2].

Then you find him moving on to describe aspects of Western civilisation. These include modern inventions such as the steam heating system where he says: 'the room was heated by steam running in pipes connected to the basement where it was generated and pumped to all the rooms in the house'[3]. He also mentions electricity: 'the rooms in that palace were all lit by electricity and were equipped for comfort and luxury'[4]. The furnishings are described as being most luxurious which in turn highlights the author's simple living. In a meeting of three English financiers to discuss the Japanese loan from the British government, we find Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf giving London the title 'Mother of all Cities',

[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, *Fatāt Miṣr*, p.1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.1.

writing: 'In a room furnished luxuriously in one of the palaces of London, the Mother of all Cities, three men sat around a table. One of them had a telegraph device in front of him conversing with a financier in America...' This is what the author sees as being amazing at that time: 'In front of another one was a telephone instrument and he was talking to his cousin in Paris, the third one was Lord Penshield...' [1]

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf describes his amazement with the communications revolution through the telegraph and the telephone:

> This room was heated by pipes radiating hot air in the cold weather, and is cooled by electric fans when it is hot. It was connected with telegraph and telephone wires to most European and American capitals.[2]

Even when Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf described the Egyptian railway, he did not praise it, he only mentioned the fact that it was structured on the English design[3]. A conductor on an Egyptian train says: "the Egyptian railway was recently structured on the English system. A train will not leave a station to another until the line between them is clear. Therefore, as long as we are here, a train will not leave the station behind us".[4]

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf continues his description of the splendour and the Western life of luxury. Even the ship which Henry and his sister were going to take is described to his poor Eastern readers in a way they could only begin to imagine. He describes a scene of Henry and his sister at dinner on board a ship, writing:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.55.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.112.
[3] *Ibid.*,p.65.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.65.

> The ship was one of the largest to sail between Europe and the Far East and the most elaborate, and had the most luxurious furnishings. The passengers had dressed for dinner; among them were many English newspaper journalists all in their evening wear...[1]

He then described the food: 'the food was served in several courses; it was what was served normally on large liners: fish, meat, vegetables and desserts. They served the best quality European wines'[2].

6.4 English Splendour

The West's intention of intermarriage with the East was not to complement a deficiency they wanted to fill. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf presents the West as the stronger side. In addition to it having material advancement and progress in the modern age, it also has power and dominance over the rest of the world.

In this manner, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tries to present the Westerner to Arab readers in his novel, by way of promoting and celebrating the English for having such high ambitions and endeavour, who give every effort for the sake of duty and service for their country, their people and their government.

"Saxon blood will never accept humiliation."[3] With this description, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf presented the typical Western attitude as exhibited by Sir Edward Brown when addressing his son, Henry. Sir Edward described the problems his country was experiencing in that they were destined for either permanence or demise, as enemies were threatening Britain's realms, colonies and markets. "This is the case of the English and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.66.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.66.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.3.

their greatness, they are travelling people ... yes they have high endeavours."[1] The author portrayed the West in his novel as modern in terms of material things, in the development of new scientific discoveries, machinery and inventions. In addition to this, the strength of the English is in their determination to achieve difficult tasks, their persistence and patience.

6.5 The Role of Dora

In the novel, Dora, Henry's sister and companion, presents a different point of view from her brother with respect to the East. It is almost as if she is presenting to us the views of some European scholars, who see the East and the West as two vastly separate and opposite entities. She also embodies the colonial view of one looking down on the other. She comments with sarcasm and mockery on her brother's description of his dream of a beautiful Eastern girl calling him to look for her in the East, saying: "it appears that the image of this maiden has charmed you. I would not spoil your tour of the East if you take me with you, but to look there for an Eastern wife is not easy ... however, it may not be impossible."[2] Here the author shows Dora's point of view, which continues with her comments: "unless she is one of us, one of the expatriate girls who are living there..."[3]

Here, Dora not only represents the voice of the West, calling for non-integration between him and others, but also represents the view of those who consider themselves superior, i.e.: the West, as opposed to the weaker East.

How then, can one from an advanced civilisation be integrated with one from a primitive civilisation, the rich with the poor? How can the militarily strong who has colonised the

[1] *Ibid.*, p.28.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.2.

earth and those on it, be integrated with the weak, the colonised and dominated? How do the master and slave become equal and balanced?

Henry sees Bahiyya as the reoccurrence of an image he has seen before, in a photograph of an Eastern woman in his house in London. Because of the similarity of Bahiyya's features to this photo, Henry believes that both girls are as good as the same. He tells Dora: "but the girl whose image I saw had a swarthy face and black hair, similar to the one in this picture..."[1] So is this what distinguishes the West from the East? Is it the swarthiness of the face and the blackness of the hair that designates one coming from the East rather than the West?

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf deliberately focused on identifying the features of the East and the West, i.e. the Easterner's blackness of hair, the swarthiness of the skin, and the Westerner's blond hair and blue eyes. Henry did not recognise the Eastern girl for something within her, but for her physical characteristics; for what is different and mysterious to others. He continues to confirm this where he says: "I saw an Eastern girl just like this picture, there is nothing in her features similar to English girls... It is unreasonable to get married to a Western girl when I am destined to marry an Eastern girl."[2]

There is a strong response from Dora who explains to him the fact that integration between East and West cannot be achieved. She points to herself and her Westernness, rejecting forcefully the principle of equality or even the thought of integration between the strong nations and the weak, saying: "Stop that fantasy now". Such a relationship is an impossibility, as if fantasy is something neither desirable nor acceptable in the life of

[1] *Ibid.*, p.2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.2.

the materialistic West that does not recognise anything but what is visible and tangible. Fantasy is nothing but weakness and mystery, which are the characteristics of the ignorant East positioned behind the walls of hardship, hunger, dreams and fairy tales. "Henry, we are serious, pragmatic people with no banter, we even suspect the facts, so are we to believe in dreams?"[1]

Here the response comes from Henry, but it is clear the author is putting forward his own point of view, defending this integration and marriage. He says, through Henry:

> 'I am not one who believes fiction as you claim [as if fiction is shameful and disgraceful] but what is the reason for the harmony we see between people on one occasion, and disagreement on another? Why is there no harmony of varying degrees just like between chemical elements? Why can we not say that chemical love and friendship are one-sided?'[2]

Henry tried to strengthen his idea of marriage between the West and the East from a financial point of view, adding that the condition of love and harmony is no more than a chemical reaction. He tried to persuade Dora that because the West dominates the East, the East is important and necessary to the life of the West and essential for its material benefits. Henry defends the East and an Eastern girl without actually knowing her. He defends his preconception of the East, not a reality he has experienced.

The West's view of the East was dominated to a large extent by images from *The Thousand and One Nights*. The author confirmed this through Dora who constantly describes the East as being the place of fiction and fairy tales. This is shown when Dora visits Ḥalīma, the daughter of Rāghib Pasha, one of Cairo's prominent men. When she enters the house, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf writes:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.2.

> He brought the ladies and the maids who stood at their service and served them tea in golden cups inlaid with gems. They then got up to look around the harem house and Dora remembered what she read in the *The Thousand and One Nights* and said: 'What I see now is stranger than what I read, because it combines the creativity of Eastern industry with that of Western industry.'[1]

The author then continues in his description of the house, but what is more important than the house is the subject that appeals to the Western mind; the Turkish maidens in their white, flimsy clothing, while the two ladies, Dora and Ḥalīma – are Westerners in their dress, their hairstyles fashioned as if they had just arrived from Paris yesterday.[2]

6.6 Dora's and Henry's Views of the East

Perhaps the Westerners' views of the East are the most important aspects of the novel as Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf described these very skilfully. He presented it at the beginning in a symbolic way because of his fear that his readers may not understand what he wanted to say, particularly as the majority of them at that time were new readers of novels.

He begins this important dialogue when Henry, accompanied by Dora, goes up to see the Japanese ship's captain who took them on a tour of the vessel. They went up to the top deck where they saw the passengers gathered around a large flying fish. The fish had flown in the air, but had fallen down onto the ship's deck. Henry was glad to see it because he had read about them but had never seen it before. He examined it carefully, then went and washed his hands and returned and stood looking out at the sea in case he saw another flying fish. He said to his sister: "did you see the consequences of greed? This fish is created to live in the sea; it was not content with what was created for it and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.36.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.36.

asked to live in the air as well, competing with birds over their habitat, so it ended up killing itself.'[1]

In Henry's view this fish represents the West. It is the West which is never content, but is greedy, tries to acquire everything, to control everything, not only within its own area, but also in other peaceful parts of the world, whereby others (like the birds), did not share this greed or attempt to go into other territories.

Dora replies with irony and sarcasm when she hears Henry's call for the need to understand the East. Laughing, she says: "did you see the consequences for the one who seeks to live outside his own kind?" Henry replies: "Yes, he falls and doesn't get up again."[2]

Dora sees Henry in the fish, the one who is trying to form a relationship between the West and the East built on equality. However, such a relationship was not destined to last, because it did not support the reality of the strong remaining superior to the weak.

Although Henry opposed his sister's view of the East, he found himself getting weaker in his position. He confirms her view that only a Westerner can help the West to carry the burden of its seniority and strength. The author wants to indicate the Westerners' self-confidence and self-reliance because it considers itself superior and does not see those who are weaker. But we find that Henry tries to find a common link between the East and the West, even if it was a weak one, by asking inquisitively: "But do you really think that

[1] *Ibid.*, p.78.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.78.

the difference between us is as big as that?"[1] The author renews hope of finding a relationship of understanding between the East and the West in the future, even if this future is far off. Dora's response is: "Not really, but there is some difference..."[2]

Here Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tries to put the blame on Eastern customs and traditions, which in his view are an obstacle to assimilation of Western civilisation. Henry agrees with his sister on the difference in the customs of society, not between individuals, because only a few of them liked the customs of the West, its languages, or even its way of living. He sees Bahiyya's reservations to his request to allow him to write to her somewhat strange: "You were right. I asked her to allow me to write to her but she refused. If she was English or American, I would not have asked her, but I would have written to her without asking, and she would have read my letters and would have written back to me in any case."[3]

Henry's dream was to become attached to a girl from another world, to a girl from the East, who would be different from those in his society in her appearance, yet despite this, he wanted her to behave according to his own customs and for her to accept Western manners. In Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf's opinion, this would be the way for both the East and the West to meet, and a way for the East to catch up with the West's progress.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.78.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.78.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.79.

Dora confirms this point by comparing herself with Bahiyya, when she says: "There may be very little difference between me and Bahiyya, and yet she may be better than me in every aspect and quality."[1]

Then Dora mentions the negative aspects of Bahiyya: "but the customs of her people and their outlook on things differ from our customs and our outlook. It may be easy to reconcile their customs with ours, but on the other hand it may not be so easy."[2]

However, from which aspect is it easy, according to Ya'qūb Ṣarruf, to reconcile the East and the West, and when can the West accept the East? He continues Dora's comments: "this does not prevent her being used to all our customs, with nothing being different for her in any way."[3] Therefore, the condition is for Bahiyya to accept and get used to the West's customs and traditions and not the other way around. In other words, acceptance and compliance by the East to the West's conditions and descriptions are required. Therefore the West wants to take on a partner similar to its own image, views and standards, and not to take it for what it is. As Edward Said wrote in, *Orientalism*, the West had created an East different from the real East, and then ruled over it. It did not want an East contrary to what it saw through its Western eyes and with its colonial intentions.[4]

Therefore Bahiyya is Eastern in her appearance, but Western in her character, manners, passions, customs and traditions. This is what Henry wanted for Dora, in order for her to take the relationship seriously. The West wants an ignorant East that carries the looks of

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.79.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.79.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.79.
[4] See the introduction of *Orientalism*, Edward Said.

the land it comes from, but this East cannot have anything from the East except in name, with its substance, its thinking and passions adopted from the West.

6.7 The Reasons for Eastern Civilisation's Backwardness in Dora's Point of View

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tries with several reservations and implications in his style to offer a view of liberalisation in many social matters which he could not offer directly or through articles in his magazine, *al-Muqtaṭaf*. He found that it was more appropriate to use the novel as a route for him to put forward his opinions to his readers. He did this through a Western character, not an Eastern one, so as to keep readers interested as he wanted to raise unfamiliar topics and couldn't do this through familiar characters. When he offers these issues through Western characters, he was trying to get his readers, often admirers of Western civilisation, to quickly accept them. The phenomenon of being charmed by anything Western such as customs, traditions and Western thinking, as Fanon says, in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* is a source of inspiration for the author, and he attempts to apply all these Western ideas to his society and people, however different, strange and unacceptable to his society.

> The native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. His writings correspond point by point with those of his opposite numbers in the mother country. His inspiration is European and we can easily link up these works with definite trends in the literature of the mother country.[1]

[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p.179.

This is what dominated Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf's mind and his views. The author continues to offer his social points, showing his readers the reasons for the East's backwardness, Egyptian society in particular. In the course of Henry's discussion with the Japanese captain about Egypt's economical weakness the Japanese captain says: "what surprises me about Egypt is that it lies on two seas with extensive foreign trade, and despite this they do not have commercial companies or any steam ships, apart from one small company which bought its ships from the government." He continues: "Egypt began building large ships eighty or ninety years ago, before we began doing so by around sixty years, so what caused it to lag behind Europe when it was the country which started it?"[1] Henry agrees with the captain by saying: "I also do not know, but it is very surprising."[2]

It is Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf who speaks through Dora, who says: "I know some of the reasons if not all of them"[3] The reader expects that Dora was referring to political reasons, but she surprises the reader by touching on women's issues as being the main reason for the lack of progress. She says:

> 'I have seen women in Cairo similar to any eloquent and gracious women in the most advanced European countries, but I have learned that women like them are very few in number and most of them are European, Syrian, Jewish and Turkish, while the majority of the female population is uneducated. The number of women who can read and write among all of Egypt's population does not reach seven in every thousand. Therefore, if half the population are illiterate, and it is the half that raises the children, how would the country be expected to progress?'[4]

The most important point in Dora's view is women's education and liberation. This is the route to civilisation, economic prosperity and progress for Egypt and the East. But what are the specifics of education that she sees as being the only way for society's

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[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, *Fatāt Miṣr*, p.67.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.67.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.68.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.68.

advancement and progress? It is Western education, not the knowledge as such, but Western customs, to learn its traditions, even to the extent of absorbing its thinking and following in its footsteps. Dora finds the proportion of these women in the society very small, and such a small number of women would not be able to transform the country into a non-Eastern society with Western direction, thinking and future planning. This position is compatible with Fanon's description[1], as mentioned earlier, of the colonised intellectual who is charmed by anything Western and whose thoughts and dreams are inspired by the dominant Western culture.

6.8 The Japanese Model

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf wrote this novel in a very journalistic style, with reports and news of the Japanese-Russian war. Through these news reports Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tries to present to his readers in the East the Japanese model as an ambitious one, able to catch up with Western civilisation despite the fact that it was even behind Egypt at the beginning. But in what way does the author present the Japanese model? Did Japan leave its affairs to the West to do what it wanted, or did they have their own way in dealing with the West? Perhaps the important part of the novel, which embodies the Japanese stance *vis á vis* the West, is the Japanese Parliament session and its debate of a loan from American and British banks; the Japanese government had asked the parliament to approve the loan in order to finance its next war with Russia. The session began with the Naval Minister on his feet asking the parliament to approve a loan of a hundred million Yen (10 million pounds Sterling) from European and American banks to reinforce the Japanese fleet. A well

[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p.179.

known member of the opposition interjected and began by saying: "One of the top European philosophers, if not the top of their philosophers of all times, Herbert Spencer told us ..."[1]

The opposition MP started his speech by quoting a Western view, as if Japanese personality and identity had dissolved in Western civilisation without a trace. The West had become the lighthouse that the world was guided by, it had become what is leading the world and dominating it. It is noticeable how this European philosopher was praised at length. It was not the MP's own opinion nor was it representing a personal admiration of the West and its great philosopher; it was aimed towards the whole nation. In order to confirm this, Ṣarrūf put it between parentheses, describing for us the state of the parliament when the great Western philosopher was mentioned, saying: 'When the name Herbert Spencer was pronounced, three quarters of the members stood up and bowed their heads with admiration and respect for this great philosopher'.[2] The question that would come to the reader's mind would be: is there anyone in Japanese culture or among its rulers who could benefit from Spencer's recommendations, wisdom and teachings?

As Fanon says, it is the absence of identity, absorbed in the civilisation of the power and progress of the financially dominant West which, even if it was not colonising Japan in an obvious way, colonised it culturally and ideologically.[3]

As further confirmation of this, we find Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf continuing to extend this thought through the opposition parliamentarian who says: "Your standing ovation, gentlemen, and the admiration you have shown for this great philosopher, encourages me to elaborate

[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, *Fatāt Miṣr*, p.47.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.47.
[3] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p.179.

in quoting what he has given us by way of advice and wisdom, which guided us in the past and must continue to guide us in the present and in the future..."[1] What Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf wants to say is that Western wisdom and culture is the best alternative for old Eastern traditions which cannot deal with the progress of modern civilisation.

6.9 Bahiyya, the Symbol of the East

The first thing Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tells us with regards to Bahiyya, is that she is an Egyptian Coptic girl. Perhaps his reference to her religion was to avoid offending certain readers, as 'Abdul Muḥsin Ṭāha Badr noted, some of the novelists at the time, due to these novels being published in an Islamic society, tried to choose female characters either from non-Arab or non-Muslim environments, as in this way they would not acknowledge or admit a Muslim girl's relationship with a non-Muslim young man.[2]

In order for Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf to confirm Bahiyya's character as representing the East as a whole and not just a single Arab country, he made Bahiyya's mother come from the Levant rather than from Egypt like her father. Thus she represented the whole of the Arab East at that time. Ṣarrūf did a similar thing for Henry, choosing for him a Scottish father and a French mother; thus Henry represents the West as a whole, and in this way fulfils the author's desire for the meeting of civilisations and the beginning of reconciliation between them.

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[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, *Fatāt Miṣr*, p.47.
[2] 'Abdul Muḥsin Ṭāha Badr, *Taṭawwur al-Riwāyah al-'Arabiyya al-Hadītha fī Miṣr (1870-1938)*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963, p.160.

6.10 Bahiyya's Character and her Role in the Novel

Although Ya'qūb Ṣarruf chose a title for his novel relating to Bahiyya, *'The Maiden of Egypt'*, the idea of intermarriage and relationships between East and West dominated him to the extent that he neglected his heroine in the novel and as such her description in the novel is very vague.

The author did not even describe Bahiyya's inner feelings and sensations, or her view on her relationship with a foreigner. However, he made those around her very concerned with this relationship, as if she did not have the power to decide for herself. Instead Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf describes for us her quick reactions with Henry, her extreme shyness and her unwillingness to express her feelings to anyone, leaving the reader at a loss to her personality, with only two scenes between Henry and Bahiyya. The first was when they met for the first time and the second was their meeting by the Nile at sunset where he came to inform her of his departure and to bid her farewell. The reader remains thereafter distanced from Bahiyya, until Henry returns towards the end of the novel and weds her.

6.11 The Beginning of the Relationship between Henry and Bahiyya

For the beginning of the relationship between Henry and Bahiyya, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf chose a reception hosted by the Khedive of Egypt for the visitors to Egypt and prominent personalities. This atmosphere, where people of all nationalities were mixing together, including dignitaries representing their countries, helped Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf to put forward his view. He used the charm of the night and the beautiful scenery to add to the delight of this meeting.

The East as described in the novel was like a legendary land similar to the depictions of the *Thousand and One Nights*, as if Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf had adopted this image from Western culture and its view of the East. Or he may have wanted to picture the East in this way to indicate the lack of Western romance and the beauty of Eastern architecture with its mysteries and exquisiteness.

The first image Ya'qūb Ṣarruf describes for us is Cairo at night while the moon is full, with a beautiful temperate climate and a clear sky, a suitably romantic occasion which helped foster the meeting of strangers from various lands at the Khedive's reception. Accordingly, Cairo with this multitude of nationalities and cultures was well prepared to accept anything Western, particularly with the existence of this large number of Westerners, whether they were officials like ambassadors, politicians, traders, and businessmen, or tourists who came to Egypt seeking its temperate climate and historic sights.

Henry's meeting with Bahiyya was accidental. Henry was one of the tourists who would normally be invited to attend such a reception. He saw a group of people gathered around an Indian Colonel, so he approached them to find out the reason for this crowd, which is when he first spotted Bahiyya. He stood frozen like a statue, then he rushed to look for his sister and said to her: "I have found her... It's the girl who visited me in my dream. I have been looking for her at the reception... come along, I want you to see her."[1] Dora went with him, and Bahiyya indeed resembled the picture of the Eastern woman in their house back in London. Then Ṣarrūf gives us Dora's true impression of Bahiyya when she

[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, *Fatāt Miṣr*, p.11.

says: "She is very beautiful, I do not disagree with you about that, but I am still of my initial opinion, which is that the image of the picture we have has been imprinted on your imagination, so that you saw it in your dream and in this innocent girl, which is something that appears just to you, while she has nothing to do with it."[1] Dora was trying to instil doubt in Henry's mind, so he stopped her by saying: "Never mind your scientific explanations, this girl deserves to be adored, particularly if her manners are similar to her looks."[2]

After that, Henry met Bahiyya through Esther, the daughter of Mr. Levy, the Jewish tradesman who had earlier hosted Henry and Dora. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf describes the meeting where Esther introduces Henry to Bahiyya, writing: 'The two shook hands and Henry felt as if he had returned to the dream he saw a month earlier; his face went first blotchy, then red, his heart was beating hard, his joints were shaking and he wanted to speak but he was not able to.'[3]

As regards Bahiyya, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf described her thus: 'As for Bahiyya, she looked away and was quiet, as if she was bashful about what she had shown, so her cheeks became rosy with shyness'[4]. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf then gave the reaction of the others upon seeing this: 'This did not go unnoticed by Dora and Esther, Dora knew the reason for it, however, Esther thought it was out of the usual shyness which overcomes Eastern girls.'[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.11.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.12.

6.12 Dora and a Less Extreme View of the East

Perhaps Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf felt through his representation of Dora, who represents opposition to the idea of marriage, that it might have a negative effect on the reader. Thus we find him trying to make her character more moderate and thoughtful, which serves the author in allowing him to make some necessary points regarding relations between East and West. For example, Dora did not object to this marriage because Bahiyya was of less standing than Henry; she objected to the idea of establishing a relationship with a person who came from a society and people that were not his own. Through Dora, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf put forward thoughts to the readers to encourage them to support and bless this marriage. Dora asks: "Why should I object to Henry falling in love with this girl when God made all peoples who live on the face of this earth from one blood."[1] Ya'qūb Ṣarruf tries to display Bahiyya's characteristics by making a comparison between her and Henry through Dora's dialogue with herself: "And why would the daughter of a Pharaoh not deserve to be wife to a Scot? His ancestors were living in forests and were wearing animal skins, whilst Bahiyya's ancestors lived in palaces and led armies"[2]. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf continues his train of thoughts, again through Dora's internal monologue by having her reply to herself:

> 'And what is this bias that has overtaken us Europeans in general and the English in particular? Are we better than others in nature, manners and heritage? The men and women we have seen in the 'Abdīn Palace [the Khedive's palace in Cairo] from every nation, race and language, were characterised by their civility to the extent you could not find a difference between them, except the difference of culture, with those who participated in it having no remaining differences between them worth noting.'[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.15.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.15.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.15.

However, what kind of culture is Dora talking about? Is it European education and culture, and thus is it only for those who are Westernised that heritage and origins are overlooked, as long as one's way of life is Western?

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf continues his important analysis through Dora's thoughts: "Why do our dignitaries and cabinet ministers in our country get married to Israelites, who are the most obvious Eastern women relatively, and we do not see any sign of objection, and yet when our Pharaoh's girls were queens the Israelite girls were their slaves..."[1]

Dora concluded by equating the two sides, Henry and Bahiyya. That they are similar even if only in appearance, as the substance was not important for her as long as her brother had the same view as her with regard to Bahiyya's physical features. She confirmed this when she was continuing her comparison; Bahiyya's picture became clear to her, with her slender figure and her dark eyes. Only then did she say: "she looks like him, there are so many of these likenesses among married couples."[2]

It is this likeness that is the author's aim; it is the hope of a relationship on equal terms between East and West, an invitation from the author to his readers first, and to the forces of occupation, to think and ponder the East in a new way. An East that tries to follow the West's steps in its thinking and its way of living. The East that was the product of old civilisations, which the West knew through legends. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf is calling in his novel for reconciliation and harmony between East and West, whatever the sacrifices are on the part of the East, even if it involves suppressing its identity. If the East wanted to assert its

[1] *Ibid.*, p.16.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.16.

identity, it is enough for it to have its monuments and legends, and to look to the West for the secrets of development and progress.

6.12 Western Languages and Open Society

The mixture of Eastern and Western peoples in Egypt is a source of pride and delight to the author, as if it is a sign of the East being ready for change. The evidence of this is the large number of communities from European countries as well as foreign tourists, as he says in describing the guests at the Khedive's reception:

> Most of the guests arrived, and the palace's halls and reception rooms were full. They were from various religions and different nationalities, and among them were princes from the Khedive family, government ministers, senior civil servants, ambassadors, occupation army officers and a group of English, French, Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, American, Persian, Indian and North African Arab tourists.[1]

He then continues describing their clothes and outfits, as they all came in different styles; some of them were in gold, braided outfits with sparkling medals on their chests and many of them were in black Turkish or European clothing of similar styles or in their turbans and cloaks.[2] Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf was not content in just describing the men at the reception, but extended his description to the female guests too, as if referring to the most important aspects of sophisticated women of that society. It is well known that Eastern society forbids the mixing of women with men. Women are able to meet one another, but away from the gaze of men. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf was trying to convey to his Eastern readers the progress of Western civilisation and of the social customs, particularly with regards to women. Perhaps he wanted the readers to follow the example of high society in his novel.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.6.

The author is addressing the readers, describing to them the women's styles, their jewellery, the level of extravagance and lavish life they lead in a society whose people were mostly poor and whose children were dying of disease.

Ya'qūb Ṣarruf wrote: 'As for women, do not ask about their styles, their beauty and jewellery. There are no two alike in anything; they are of varying degrees of richness.'[1]

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf tries in some detail to describe the excessive richness, which is obvious in their clothes, writing:

> A lady was in a dress made from Irish textiles worth not less than hundreds of pounds, a sparkling diamond crown, a necklace from rare pearls, clasps and bracelets with sparkling diamonds, sapphires and rubies sparkling like stars, estimated to be worth thousands of pounds. Whilst another lady who was richer in her natural beauty than in rich outfits, was wearing a simple thin muslin dress decorated only with a flower she placed on her chest and another she clasped in her hair; people admired the simplicity and beauty of this lady as well as their admiration of the lavishness and glory of the others.[2]

What is noticeable in the novel is that Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf refers to the language of the Western characters, and in what language the Easterner replies to them, before he starts any dialogue, failing completely to refer to the Arabic language. We observe this in various parts of the novel.

When Dora asked Esther about Bahiyya and who she was, Esther mentioned, among other characteristics, that both she and her brother spoke fluent English and could speak it just like the English. They had an English nanny, and her brother had gone to school in England.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.6.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.12.

Even during Henry's first visit to Wāṣif Bey at his house, he described how they all sat together, the father, mother, her brother Henry and his sister: 'They all sat together engaged in conversation, sometimes in French, and other times in English.'[1]

The etiquette of conversation as far as Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf is concerned, was a custom and tradition of the dominant Westerner. This is evident when he mentions Bahiyya's attempt to talk with Henry: 'She [Bahiyya] tried to open the conversation with him because the etiquette of socialising required it.'[2]

Even when Henry wrote a long letter to his father, he referred to his knowledge of Wāṣif Bey's family by saying: "I assure you, father, that the Egyptians I have met who come from all the religions who reside in Egypt, Coptic, Jewish, Arabs, Syrians and Turks are extremely intelligent and gentle."[3] He then continues his justification of this view by saying: "The effect of the long-standing injustice in their country has almost faded away among the educated class among them."[4] But what long-standing injustice is Henry talking about? Is it the injustice of ignorance or the fact that Eastern traditions still dominate?

Henry continues by rationalising the correctness of his comments by talking about Wāṣif Bey's family: "Yesterday, I was with Dora at Wāṣif Bey's house. It was like being at the house of one of our uncles and not at Wāṣif Bey's, and Bahiyya was no different than Dora in her manners or her knowledge."[5] Then what are Bahiyya's characteristics that put her in the same standing as Dora? Is it not her Western manners, knowledge and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.27.

upbringing? Henry continues describing her and her family: "Bahiyya speaks English like me, she also speaks French and Arabic, both her parents speak French."[1]

Ṣarruf's focus on language, particularly of the Western characters is evidence of the fact that language is a tool of the coloniser for communicating with the colonised. It is also a sign of honour and high standing for Easterners to be able to speak to the coloniser in his own tongue.

6.13 Conclusion

Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf presented in his novel *Fatāt Miṣr*, the ideal of intermarriage between the East and the West from his own point of view, imbued with Western culture and at the detriment of Eastern traditions. Even though the title of his novel was about a girl of the East, he did not present to us Bahiyya's character or that of Egyptian women in a clear and frank way. Bahiyya did not have a character with any depth; he restricted it to situations of embarrassment and deep shyness which were supposed to mark the Eastern girl's interaction with men. Her negative aspects are also noticeable in that she did not have an opinion with regard to her relationship, neither accepting it or rejecting it, all ropes were being pulled by Henry, as he was the one who fell in love, he was the one who wanted to have ties to the girl he felt had been created for him. We saw through the characters of Henry and Dora the features of the Western coloniser and what he seeks from the East; an East that the West created for itself in the collective imagination of Westerners that did not resemble the true East at all. It wanted an East that had no identity except for its glorious past; for the future the East would have to look towards

[1] *Ibid.*, p.27.

emulating the West and adopting Western manners, customs and traditions. He also discussed women's issues through Dora, where she attributed the reasons for Egypt's decline to the lack of women's education and their ignorance, saying that if women were to become educated, they would be able to raise a civilised generation. However, what kind of upbringing and education did Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf want women to have? It is the Western mode of upbringing and education. Accordingly, it becomes clear to us from this novel that the author is influenced by the ideas of the colonising West and by Western views. It is the source of his inspiration and his vision. He opposes everything that contradicts this belief and, according to him this opposition is the reason for the East's decline and its backwardness. The author's situation is that of the colonised Eastern intellectual, as described by Fanon, complete in his admiration of the occupying powers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Western Woman as seen through Eastern Eyes in *Ghādat Berlin* (The Maiden of Berlin) by Tawfīq Mufarrij

7.1 Introduction

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7.6 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will talk about the relationship of the Eastern man with the Western woman in the novel, *Ghādat Berlin* by Tawfīq Mufarrij. This was embodied in a love affair that brought together Juliet, a Western girl and Salīm, a young Syrian man.

Some questions are raised regarding the relationship that brought them together. These questions are; how was the relationship between an Eastern man and a Western woman portrayed in the novel, and how was this relationship viewed from the Eastern man's point of view? Was it a relationship built on sexual desire or physical attraction, or was there a deeper bond between the two lovers? Was Salīm seeking something he could not find amongst girls of his own society? Additionally, how did Tawfīq Mufarrij represent the Western woman in the novel, and was Salīm able to live comfortably in the West within this relationship without any obstacles or problems?

This chapter also analyses Mufarrij's representation of the Western man through the character of Jack, the police inspector who had a strong and negative influence on the relationship between Juliet and Salīm. Finally, I will try to analyse the reasons behind the author's writing of the novel *Ghādat Berlin.*

7.2 The Western Woman in the Novel

7.2.1 The Physical Characteristics of the Western Woman in *Ghādat Berlin*

In the novel, *Ghādat Berlin*, Tawfīq Mufarrij did not pay much attention to describing exact physical details of Juliet, rather he elaborately gives the reader the general impression of Juliet as a woman without flaws, a perfect woman. This achieves his aim of giving the impression of the West as a flawless and perfect place.

Mufarrij describes Juliet as being like the sun in her beauty, whose light does not fade. Her beauty is mind-blowing and captures the hearts. She is a beautiful girl with rosy cheeks, very

white skin, large eyes, curved eyebrows, thin waist and tall frame[1]. She is like an exquisite, beautiful gazelle in the elegance of her movements and the way she walks[2]. The author tries to highlight the most important characteristic, which is shyness, where he writes: 'she is shy in her love, her shyness adding to her beauty, her beauty and her loveliness captivate anyone who sees her.'[3]

She is a flawless person, with her tall stature and Western looks. The West is embodied in her and she encapsulates the West. She enchants and bedazzles Salīm, the Easterner, 'who soon became a slave to her passion'[4] and was 'captivated by her love'[5].

Mufarrij's description of Juliet is not restricted to her physical beauty or to her manners, but extends to her descent. She is from a good family, which is a very important condition for an Easterner considering marrying a girl. Mufarrij writes: 'Salīm did not fall in love with Juliet for her looks only, but because of her good descent and of her extreme kindness and politeness. Anyone who is not attracted to her good looks and beauty would without a doubt be attracted to her soft-spoken words and her sweet conversation'[6].

But how can Salīm describe Juliet and all her characteristics as if he had known her since birth, when he had only seen her and spoken to her once or twice? It is because he is enchanted with everything Western, represented in the character of Juliet; it is a case of the colonised, educated scholar who is, as Fanon describes, at the stage of admiration and bedazzlement with anything Western. It is the stage when he is in denial of any faults, if they exist, and instead mentally transforms them into good traits. He would reject any opinion or idea that might be against Western methods of thinking.

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[1] Tawfīq Mufarrij, *Ghādat Berlin*, Ilyās Niqūlā Ẓāhir (Editor and Publisher), 1906. p.5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.5.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[6] *Ibid.*, p.15.

This phase is well-documented by Fanon in *The Wretched of The Earth*; 'The native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. His writings correspond point by point with those of his opposite numbers in the mother country. His inspiration is European and we can easily link up these works with definite trends in the literature of the mother country.'[1]

7.2.2 Juliet and the Ideal Woman

Juliet is a German girl who the Arab protagonist of the novel encounters in Berlin by chance. However, this meeting is different from others, as it was the girl who initiated their relationship, where traditionally, especially in the East, the man is supposed to take the first step.

Salīm just gazes ahead, spellbound; it is Juliet who breaks the ice by asking for help to read an Arabic inscription on an antique in the museum. Mufarrij writes: 'She looked behind her and saw him staring at her and knew he was suffering from the fire of her love and affection, but she pretended as if she did not care much about him...'[2] The author continues by saying: 'she pretended that she was looking at one of the antiques with Arabic inscriptions on it. Salīm then heard her voice asking who could read Arabic to explain it to her.'[3] Mufarrij then adds, confirming Salīm's view for the reader: 'She deliberately asked this because she knew he spoke Arabic in order to open the door between the two of them'.[4]

Salīm did not have the courage to initiate things between them, due to his feelings of inferiority and the idea that he was of lower standing than Juliet; otherwise he would have been confident enough to take the first step towards establishing the relationship. He could feel the strength of the West and its ability to achieve the impossible, particularly the fact that

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[1] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p.179.
[2] Tawfīq Mufarrij, *Ghādat Berlin*, p.7.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

a Western woman is free and civilised and can see things with an eye far removed from the complexities of old Eastern traditions. She was the one who took the first step and he left her to take control and dominate his affairs and destiny.

The forwardness of the Western woman and the admiration of her Eastern lover forged a relationship of love and affection, as expressed by Salīm: "If it was not for your love, I would not have parted from my parents, being away from them until now. If it were not for you, I would now be back in my country in Syria"[1]. But the Easterner in Salīm's heart wakes up and reminds him of the Eastern traditions regarding relations between the sexes. Salīm asks Juliet: "I wonder if the future would be clear for us and if we would be able to exchange the chalice of love between us?"[2] By 'chalice', Salīm is referring to possible marriage and whether or not her father would allow Juliet to marry him. He asks Juliet: "Would this matter not upset your father? Would he approve if he knew of the love we have between us?" Juliet is affronted and shows that her father's permission to be with Salīm is not as important to her as it is to him: "Oh Salīm, my father, my father. Is this the basis of our love whose main condition is that you ask for my hand from my father?"[3] Salīm remains perplexed, so he asks again: "Then how can we achieve happiness without this? We have no other way than this. Or can we get married without your father's knowledge?" Here the author Tawfīq Mufarrij illustrates the difficulty many from Eastern communities have in envisaging alternatives to marriage as a legitimate relationship. To placate Salīm, Juliet says she will consult her mother. When Salīm asks what will happen if her mother disapproves, Juliet responds: "I will obey your orders and follow you wherever you want and I will be wherever you are, I will never, ever leave you."[4] The author shows Juliet's freedom in being able to decide her fate,

[1] *Ibid.*, p.11.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.13.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.13.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.13.

the fact that even without her parents' approval she can be with whomever she wants. The idea that love and relationships should override community limits and traditions is something the Easterner is often unable to understand. It is for this reason, the liberation from his cultural boundaries, that Salīm is overjoyed with Juliet's sentiments: 'His face lit up with delight and happiness,' and he replies to her: "Oh Juliet, you are my only mistress and lover in the whole world."[1] The use of the word 'mistress' is a further confirmation of the illegitimate nature of the relationship, especially considering the often strict stance taken with Eastern girls who have relationships with men outside of marriage.

Towards the end of the novel, Juliet is visiting Jerusalem with a view to living a monastic life to allay her feelings of guilt after the deaths of Edmond and Jack. There she meets Salīm again by chance and upon meeting him gives up her promise to become a nun. Here the author is discharging his heroine Juliet from any oath she had taken the moment she meets her lover, Salīm. Confused about the future they may have together, Salīm asks: "Now Juliet my love, what do we do?"[2] Juliet answers quickly, giving Salīm full control over her life and destiny: "Do what you see fit, I would not object to anything you decide."[3]

She is the typical example of the modern Western woman, her relationship between her and the one she loves being more important and superior to all other relationships. Her courage is the sign of her liberation from the shackles of old traditions and customs. This is how Tawfīq Mufarrij portrayed Juliet, as the ideal girl, who through her story with her Arab lover gave Eastern readers an important lesson in the differences between women's attitudes in the East and those in the West.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.86.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.86.

7.3 The Image of the Western Man in the Novel *Ghādat Berlin*

The relationship between the Easterner and the Westerner is neither ideal nor romantic, but it is void of the problems and obstacles that would prevent a relationship built on love and mutual respect occurring at all. Mufarrij illustrated the character of the Western male through Jack, who has a profound influence on the relationship between Salīm and Juliet. His influence is very negative and is almost enough to end their relationship.

7.3.1 The Character of Jack in *Ghādat Berlin*

In the novel Jack worked for the German police as an inspector; he was 'a stocky young man, with a full body, wide shoulders...'[1] Mufarrij then chooses to give the reader an unsavoury impression of Jack by saying: 'the signs of wickedness and evil appeared on his face.'[2]

It is noticeable that the author Tawfīq Mufarrij gave detailed descriptions of the Western characters in the novel but not the Eastern characters. Even the main protagonist of the novel, Salīm, was not described by the author in terms of his physical attributes or his personality. Instead, the author focused on the main female character, Juliet, where his elaborate description of her had the aim of making her likeable to the reader, highlighting the reasons that made Salīm fall in love with her. Mufarrij described Jack in order to give the reader a feeling of discomfort about the policeman, who symbolised the military and occupying armies, the symbol of strength which forces the East to suffer. This is why Mufarrij described Jack as having 'the signs of wickedness and evil on his face'. How did Jack influence the relationship between Salīm, who represented the East, and Juliet, who represented the West? What was Jack's behaviour towards Salīm - the East, and how did Jack exploit Salīm's Eastern identity in order to overpower him?

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.16.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.16.

Jack had also fallen in love with Juliet. Before Salīm appeared in Juliet's life, he used to look at her with sadness and pain because of her engagement to Edmond. Edmond is not very well-described in the novel, but the short description given encourages the reader to compare Edmond with Jack. Mufarrij writes: 'Edmond was handsome-looking, tall, with blue eyes, he was charming, kind and had good manners'[1]. Thus, we can conclude that Mufarrij places a great deal of importance on physical descriptions and their reflection of inner characteristics, that the Western characters who are bad are described as ugly, whereas those who are good are described as being more attractive.

7.3.2 Jack's Relationship with Juliet

The relationship between Jack and Juliet seems strange and ambiguous. The author shows Jack as the forlorn lover, a martyr to love, while he is at the same time malicious and evil. Perhaps the author had found a solution to the difficult equation by describing Jack's love for Juliet as not being a pure, virtuous love; 'Jack loved Juliet enormously with great attraction, but his love was not pure, on the contrary his love was lustful, which showed clearly on his face, as clear as the sun'[2]. Mufarrij provides his reader with the excuse for not accepting Jack's love for Juliet, because Jack used his love for dishonourable purposes and not for a noble cause. This is what the readers like, a romantic moral love story where two people meet; even though Mufarrij did not give us in his novel any common characteristics between Juliet and her lover, Salīm, except for the mutual admiration and the fact that he was charmed by her beauty and manners.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.16.

What is noticeable about Jack's character and his description in the novel is that the author follows two parallel lines, the first one being that of Jack as the wicked, malicious person who would destroy anything that might prevent him from achieving his aims. He is the man of despicable conspiracies, the lustful man who wants Juliet just for her body. The second line that Mufarrij followed in building this character was that of Jack as the romantic, loving man enchanted by Juliet and her beauty; it was this love that almost drove him to madness.

Jack's malicious streak is encapsulated when he says to himself in the novel: "I wish I knew who Juliet loves, if I knew I would take his soul away and deny him his life as he denied me my lover"[1]. Tawfīq Mufarrij confirms this view of Jack a few lines later when he says; 'Jack decided to look himself for the one Juliet loved in order to kill him, even if he should be a royal prince.'[2] The destructive character which Mufarrij presents is the reflection of the Westerner, i.e.: destructive when his interests are in danger. If he wants something, then he must have it and the end justifies the means, as expounded by Machiavelli.

There is nothing in the novel to justify Juliet's hatred of Jack. When we read the novel, we cannot find a single instance that gave Juliet a negative impression about Jack, who must have appeared kind due to his attempts to meet her regularly every week with the excuse of checking that she and her mother were alright (he claimed to be a friend of her father). The only reason the readers have for disliking Jack would be his plot to imprison Salīm.

When Jack sent a letter to Juliet after the end of the war, following the deportation of Salīm to France, expressing the fact that Salīm had been working as a spy, Juliet's logical response would have been to thank Jack for revealing the truth to her. Why did she hold a grudge or

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.23.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.23.

feel hatred towards Jack when he exposed to her the truth about her lover and his hidden identity, assuming she didn't know the truth about the plot he had set up for Salīm? Despite all this, she reacted to Jack's letter with disappointment and tears[1]. Jack had told Juliet's father what was behind her illness and her relationship with the Arab 'spy'. When her father confronts her with this her only defence was to smear Jack's image: "Damn him, did he really tell you that..."[2], "Damn you Jack, what a deceitful liar he is... Did I not tell you not to believe him, what an ignorant person he is..."[3] At this point, Juliet told her father about Jack's love for her, that he used to visit regularly while he was away and that he had asked her to marry him. Although this did not constitute a crime, we must consider the fact that Mufarrij's point of view is based on traditional Arab customs. This revelation made the father change his opinion instantly, saying: "Shame on you, Jack, you are a despicable rascal. Do not worry, Juliet you will see what will happen to him."[4]

Juliet should have remained quiet, satisfied with her father's stance towards Jack, but in a strange way, she tried to justify Jack's action saying: "No father, do not blame him for his actions, because love has blinded his vision."[5] Then, what did Juliet want? Or put another way, what did the author want from Jack? Was Jack malicious or was he simply exhibiting Western values in being unable to accept the fact that Juliet loved someone other than him? The answer, in my opinion is neither of the two. Mufarrij used Jack to direct the flow of events in the novel and to influence them, then chose to get rid of this character at the appropriate time. The author did not care much to involve his readers in the details of the character except in the incidents the author deemed necessary. Despite the conspiracies against the main character Salīm, the author ensured Jack's demise through having him kill

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.52.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.55.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.56.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.57.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.57.

himself for the sake of love. Mufarrij writes: 'Edmond and Jack died as martyrs of love. A great dome was built over both their graves with an inscription in gold leaf '*martyrs of love. Jack and Edmond.*"[1]

In this way, we see that no matter what a Westerner may do against the East or an Easterner, he is always excused. Jack's despicable actions towards Salīm are just a parody of Western economic or political interests in the East, also excused despite the harm they cause.

7.3.3 The Relations between the Western Man (Jack) and the Eastern Man (Salīm)

Mufarrij tried through his novel to portray Jack's feelings of animosity and hatred towards Salīm, over Salīm's relationship with Juliet. He used Salīm's *Easterness* to entrap him. Jack used his knowledge of the relationship between the Syrians, in particular the Maronites, with the French, to accuse Salīm of spying for the French against the Germans. When Salīm later asserted that being a Syrian made it impossible for him to be a spy for the French, the answer from his interrogator was: "Yes, it is possible to be a spy because when France could not find German spies from us, it enticed you the Syrians to become spies"[2]. He then continues sarcastically: "Yes you are Syrian, but is it not possible for a Syrian to be a spy?"[3]

The author then explains for us the relationship between France and the Syrians and why he accused Salīm of spying for France, when he writes: 'Jack went and informed his authorities that there was a man who appeared to be a spy for the French'. In order to confirm this to them, he told them that he was of Syrian descent, but that he was a French spy, since France has a large sector of sympathisers in Syria. This was the strongest proof that Salīm was a spy sent by the French[4]. Salīm remained in prison until the end of the war, which was won by the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.63.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.28.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.28.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.30.

Germans. Then, orders were issued by the German government to release all French prisoners, military and civilian, and deport them to France. Here Jack also used his cunning and deception to get Salīm deported to France instead of letting him go to his own country, Syria. The reason for this was to avoid what he had done to Salīm being revealed and so people would not have the slightest doubt that this Syrian was nothing but a disgraced spy, whose loyalty, lay with France and as such preferred to go there than to his mother country.[1]

Mufarrij placed Jack's character as a rival and competitor to Salīm in his love for Juliet. Consequently, he could only find in Salīm (the East) dependency on a Western master, which was France. From this we can conclude that Tawfīq Mufarrij's feeling is that the West, even when its own various powers were struggling with one another, needs victims, and that these victims could only come from sides which were already weak and struggling, and had no power or voice for themselves, and thus could easily be dominated.

The image of Jack as a negative influence on the relationship between Juliet and Salīm parallels the dealings of the Westerner with the East. Although he deals with another Westerner like himself with love and affection, and is pushed to the level of suicide for the sake of love, he also resorts to deception and lies against those who could harm his interests or might stop him achieving his aims. This fierce character who has no mercy became clear when he dealt with the East, represented in the main character, Salīm.

7.4 The Ideal West According to Tawfīq Mufarrij

[1] *Ibid.*, p.35.

I spoke earlier about Mufarrij's reference to the strong, stable relationship represented by France's care and protection of the Syrians, particularly the Maronites, therefore Tawfiq Mufarrij tried not to influence his readers' conclusions when presenting the picture of the West represented by Jack, the enemy of the East. The author tried to avoid this and to give the reader another picture of the West, an idealised image that only existed in the imagination of Mufarrij himself. The author tells us that when Salīm was deported from Germany with a group of French soldiers, he pretended to be a Syrian with great loyalty to France. Mufarrij describes this trick as useful, but in my opinion it is naïve. In a naïve way also, the French soldiers were surprised because he tried to present himself as a victim of suffering and torment for the love of France. It is as if we are accompanying Mufarrij in his dreams, where the French soldiers surround Salīm like a halo around the moon; they then inform their governor about his story.[1] Consequently, Salīm was well treated for his gracious act: 'until he [the governor] became like a brother to him [Salīm] and promised to reward him for his efforts.'[2]

Tawfiq Mufarrij then finishes embellishing the West (France) for us, when he writes that Salīm was saying to himself: "Lord, how generous the French are, despite the fact that they lost this war. They have arranged all this recognition for me, imagine what they would have done if they were the victors."[3] Tawfiq Mufarrij then describes Salīm surrounded with all kinds of luxury and comfort, a treatment fit for kings.[4]

Here we have an example of typical infatuation with the West through Tawfiq Mufarrij as Frantz Fanon described well. This infatuation led to the author presenting France (the coloniser) as being the affectionate, generous saviour who would offer happiness and comfort to all who served it and showed loyalty to it. It is a message of propaganda from Tawfiq

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.45.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.44.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.45.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.45.

Mufarrij to his readers to improve the image of France in the eyes of Easterners, as if it was the dream and wish of every person who had faced injustice, suffering or deprivation in another country to go to France, even if that tyrannical country which was persecuting them was Western. Although Germany is a Western country, it does not, according to Mufarrij, represent the West in its real image; anyone who wants to imagine the West, must imagine it in Mufarrij's image of 'beautiful France'.

7.5 Salīm and the East-West Relationship

7.5.1 The Stage of Fascination

Mufarrij described for his readers a love story between a Western girl and an Eastern man without trying to persuade us of the reasons that led to this love affair or Juliet's choice of Salīm as her lover. Mufarrij gave us the characteristics of each of Juliet's other two lovers, Edmond, who was handsome and well-mannered, and Jack, who was a German as she was and had high social-standing and possessed power and influence.

However, what does Salīm own? Tawfīq Mufarrij presented Salīm for us right from the beginning of the novel as a young man who had left the East fleeing poverty and ignorance: 'Syria was sunk deep in a sea of barbarity and ignorance where money was much more valuable than the human being and more cherished than one's own family'[1]. Therefore, the value of humanity in the East was non-existent and thus there were neither rights nor dignity for the human being. This is why he was attracted to the civilisation that protected the individual and his rights to freedom, equality and justice. This was Western civilisation and the West. This was the great influence that affected everyone in the East, the Arab intellectuals of the time in particular.

[1] *Ibid.*, p.2.

Mufarrij explained at the beginning of his novel the reason that drove Easterners to travel to the West in search of a living easier to achieve in Europe and America, so as to be able to return to their homelands afterwards in more stable economic situations[1]. He then indicates the phenomenon of infatuation with the West that had spread at that time. Easterners, particularly the young amongst them, saw the West as the land that would make their dreams and wishes come true, as Mufarrij writes: 'Immigration had spread widely in Syria, a young man as he grows up would not see ahead of him anything except the gateway to the new world [i.e. the West].'[2]

The second reason to travel to the West was tourism, which was not an activity of the many as tourism was for the elite rich and not for the poor. It was this second reason that caused Salīm to travel Westwards. He had a great desire to discover and travel to the new world. He did not go as a student, therefore he did not go to the West seeking knowledge. He did not go to the rich West seeking work or to get away from the poor East either. However, Salīm did not travel simply as a tourist; travelling and touring meant looking for something he could not find in the East; it is a search for a civilisation that Salīm was yearning to experience and to be familiar with. Juliet embodied this civilisation, to whom he gave his love, devotion and subordination. As Mufarrij describes him: 'he became a slave obedient to the demands of her love'[3].

So how did this infatuation and loss of identity develop? It was the appeal of the irresistible West with its culture, civilisation and its financial and ethical progress, according to Salīm's (or Tawfīq Mufarrij's) opinion. Despite this infatuation, the initiative for establishing the relationship with Juliet was not his but hers as mentioned earlier. He did not have a say in this matter but was obliged to accept it and follow what Juliet wished. Juliet made Salīm forget everything, his heritage and his homeland. He travelled to discover modernity, and this

[1] *Ibid.*, p.2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.5.

modernity became an altar for worship. 'This is how Salīm forgot everything, not caring for anything in this world except for pleasing his lover and master, he became a prisoner of her love'[1].

From this, it becomes clear to us that Salīm was experiencing the stage of infatuation and obsession with the West (as represented by Juliet) such that he became as a slave, happy to receive his orders. The West became the source of his motivation and inspiration. As Fanon described, he would attack anything that might be against these Western views even if it was from his own culture, customs and beliefs.

7.5.2 The Stage of Shock and Loss of Identity

The stage of Salīm dissolving his Eastern identity and his attempt to take on a Western personality through obedience of his lover's orders was concealed, but crumbled when he was accused of spying for an enemy state. Salīm believed the West was his own after he had Juliet's heart, but this was a misplaced belief, because it was the West that had rejected him and reminded him that he was only a Syrian Easterner. Since he was not a Westerner, it was easy for France, the country opposed to Germany, to enlist him to spy on Germany. Tawfīq Mufarrij describes for us Salīm's shock through the incident of his arrest and the subsequent interrogation:

> Two police officers came in looking angry, with a piece of paper in the hand of one of them. He stood up to welcome them with great respect and wanted to greet them even though they did not greet him, but in a quick and decisive way, they asked him his name, and he replied: 'Salīm.'[2]

An ordinary person would be concerned if he saw police officers standing in front of him, but Salīm welcomed them despite the anger and decisiveness they displayed which would

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.15.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.27.

indicate bad news. Even so, he was unable to muster any spirit of rebellion and continued to respond politely and calmly to them as he had lost all sense of self.

It is only when they informed him of the spying charges levelled against him and arrest him that he wakes from his Western enchantment, remembering his identity. He shouted in their faces: "What are you saying sir, how can that be when I am a Syrian?"[1]. The answer came from one of the police officers and was a strong blow which was to wake him from his dream completely and to make him realise his true position: "If you were Syrian, this [his nationality] would not be an advantage for you, on the contrary, it would be a noose around your neck."[2] In spite of this, Salīm tried to recover his trust in the West in any way even if it was hopeless. He could not believe what he saw and what he heard, and asks the police officer: "Are you serious?"[3] . The answer came quickly and shattered any doubt he had: "Do you think I am joking with you? Hey, you have argued and said enough, come on now, do not waste any more time."[4] It was not the tough treatment from the police officers and government officials that affected Salīm, but the humiliation and abuse from the people gathered around him, and he was overcome with shame[5].

Salīm tried to persuade the West that he only came to their country in good faith and full of admiration in what they had achieved in the way of civilisation and progress.

> Investigator: 'When did you come to Berlin?'
> Salīm: 'Two weeks before the start of the war.'
> Investigator: 'What was your purpose I wonder?'
> Salīm: 'I heard about what your country has in the way of progress and civilisation, and what this city in particular, Berlin, has in terms of the many beautiful sights, spectacular views, and grand buildings. But what was more important than all of this is that Berlin is the capital of a great country, Germany.'[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[2] Ibid., p.27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.27.
[6] *Ibid.*, p.28.

Salīm's good faith in the West was reflected by an opposite feeling from Westerners, because they tended to look at Easterners as lesser people than they were, particularly in terms of manners and etiquette. Salīm made desperate attempts to absolve himself of the charges, but all his attempts were in vein: "It is no use trying, you are a Syrian, and soon you will be punished"[1].

One of those present at the investigation confirms this view, that the charge is not levelled at someone who happened to be Syrian, but indeed because his origins were Syrian. 'One of those present stood up and said to the judge; "do you remember that Syrian who came to our country recently and cheated one of the large local businessmen, stole his money and ran away?!"'[2] The judge's response to that man was agreement:

> 'Yes I remember that, and I cannot forget it. This Syrian is similar to him, perhaps he thinks like the other Syrians that he could get away with it like his compatriot before him who managed to run away, but we will show them who the Germans are this time so they would not dare to do anything like this again'.[3]

Is it reasonable and logical to stereotype a whole country or people because one or two of them had done something bad against another individual or people? Would the judgement be the same if it had been a Westerner who had been accused? There are many examples of this, like the Crusader Wars or the spread of colonisation in the author's time. Of course the answer comes: No, the West as coloniser is the master in this relation, it has the advantage and the upper hand over the East which is the colonised subject, and whatever the West and does with Eastern countries, the East deserves what it gets because it is the weaker of the two.

7.5.3 Salīm and his Search for his Real Identity

Following Salīm's enchantment with the West and then the shock that his non-Western origins could render him guilty of a charge and subjected to a humiliating punishment, it was

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.29.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.29.

his natural reaction to search for his identity and for the East, as it was to be his sanctuary when the West had rejected him. Mufarrij writes that Salīm believed that God had punished him for leaving those of his homeland who had loved and raised him. What was his next course of action? Mufarrij answers this question by writing:

> Salīm began to remember Syria with its natural scenery and beautiful cities, with Lebanon's mountains in the middle of it, covered with snow and streams of water gushing out of its mountains, pouring into the Mediterranean in front of it, and his state of mind says: 'I can not stand being away from you, Lebanon.'[1]

Only now does Salīm remember how beautiful his country is, when he was the one who chose to abandon it in order to leave ignorance and darkness behind. He continues with his memories and his yearning for his country, until he reaches a state of regret and sadness. Salīm began to curse the time he wanted to travel abroad and leave his parents and his beloved country, he also cursed all those who were encouraging others to travel abroad, particularly those who encourage the young men of the East.[2] "Oh what a disappointment,"[3] he wails.

7.5.4 The West/Hope in Salīm's Point of View

Salīm's shock and disappointment in the West was great after he was accused of a crime he did not commit, merely because another Syrian had committed a crime before him. The novel expresses Mufarrij's disappointment through Salīm, whose only hope was to return to his original country after all he had suffered and after his beautiful dream had turned into a frightening nightmare. He wanted to turn to his original identity and his country, which he began to see as beautiful after he was deceived by the splendour of the West.

But what is noticeable about the novel is that the author did not lose hope in the possibility of co-existence between East and West. The first example of this is that of the French honouring

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[1] *Ibid.*, p.32.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.32.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.32.

Salīm in the exaggerated way mentioned previously. The second was when Jack killed Edmond, then killed himself, offering Salīm a chance to revive a relationship with Juliet after they had been separated. Because the West is the stronger party, it had to be the one that took the first step. Tawfīq Mufarrij made the West move towards the East to discuss the points where their civilisations could meet. The most important of these points is the Holy Land, or Jerusalem, the point where the East meets with the West. Following a lot of pressure from his father to marry a cousin, Salīm travels to Jerusalem in a desperate attempt to seek forgiveness and salvation for the guilt he feels for his disloyalty to Juliet, and by sheer coincidence he meets her there. It was also Jerusalem that provided hope for Juliet, who felt guilt about her 'martyrs of love'. It gave Salīm the opportunity to revive a relationship built on love, forgiveness and a permanent association between East and West, but this time on his home territory and with his own standards and according to what suited him best.

Juliet agrees with Salīm's views and decisions, and confirms that she would obey his demands: "I will do whatever you wish my love. I will not object to anything you say"[1]. Here Salīm makes his final decision, to remain in the East and take from the West the most beautiful thing it had - Juliet. "Let us go then to my town, to my family, it's not far from here, and you and I could live there together for the rest of our lives"[2].

The novel ends with this happy reunion of the two lovers. It was the author's attempt at reconcilement between the East and the West and the beginning of a relationship ruled by affection and understanding rather than conspiracy and accusations.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the relationship of the Eastern man with the Western woman and how the author Tawfīq Mufarrij described this relationship through the characters of Salīm and Juliet. The chapter also reviewed the image of the Western man represented by the police

[1] *Ibid.*, p.86.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.86.

inspector Jack who fights fiercely and mercilessly anyone who tries to adversely affect his interests; he is prepared to do anything to achieve his aims and ambitions. The East's obsession with the West was also discussed through the character of Salīm, the Easterner obsessed with his Western lover. He was obedient to all Juliet said, enchanted through her with Western civilisation. Salīm wanted to blend in with the West, to discard his original Eastern identity and to adopt a European identity; he looked at the West with rose-tinted spectacles. This Easterner had allowed the West to lead him and indoctrinate him; he was spellbound, repeating its slogans and trying to adopt its culture and customs. But Salīm is shocked when the West rejects him due to his Eastern roots. The people he wanted to belong to looked at him as if he were less than they were and he was the cause of much suspicion. Only then does Salīm begin to seek his real identity and origins. Not only did he regret having fallen for the West the way he did, he also cursed all those who encouraged him to go there.

Perhaps the author tried through an unconvincing story to improve the image of the West by describing the good treatment given to the Syrian character by the French; that he was treated as if he was the brother of the French ruler, an honour the French would not even provide for their own national heroes. Mufarrij tried to improve the West's image and gave the alternative to total immersion in the West as remaining in the East in order for the West's civilisation to come to him, to allow him to take what he wished from it but in an Eastern shape and mould, on his own terms and in his own territory.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1 Overview

8.2 The Image of the West – Men

8.3 The Image of the West – Women

8.4 Eastern Characters and their Interaction with Westerners

8.4.1 Hypocrisy of Some of The Eastern Characters

8.4.2 Representations of Eastern Society

8.4.3 Depiction of Arab Women

8.5 The Modern Context

8.1 Overview

In the late 19th and the early 20th centuries the Arab world underwent dramatic change. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, 'the Sick Man of Europe', the Arab world found itself in confrontation with Western forces occupying its lands and exploiting its resources.

The beginning of this confrontation in modern times can most appropriately be ascribed to the time of the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte's fleet at the port of Alexandria in 1798. Unlike European rulers who preceded him and who led the Crusades against the East, Napoleon did not simply come as the head of a military expedition, but brought with him scores of scientists and intellectuals to study Eastern culture and society. Although the French occupation of Egypt did not last very long, the expedition awoke Arab thought from its long sleep and resulted in an image of the West being established which was characterised by undue admiration and reverence. The West, on the other hand, conveyed to its readers and intellectuals a highly negative and distorted image of the East originating from the Crusades, Orientalist thought, and the *Arabian Nights*. Western literature reflected this attitude and was extremely prejudiced and hostile towards Islam and the East, which was either a place of fantasy and magic to those who seeked adventure, or a place of ignorance and illiteracy for those who believed in the colonising mission.

Nevertheless, the Arabs remained fascinated by this overwhelming materialistic civilisation. Arabs and Egyptians saw that their rapid defeat by the French conqueror was

due to the advanced technology and the modern military strategies of the opposing army. As a result, the decision was made to send students to Europe to help strengthen the Arab armies and make them more competent in modern combat. The students however, did not simply bring knowledge of military sciences back with them but also new ideas from a dominant civilisation and their own impressions of the West. The best example of this was the work of Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, author of *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz* , and 'Ali Mubārak, author of *'Alam al-Dīn*. These authors transmitted the first images of the West to the Arab world and embarked on a comparison between both civilisations, describing aspects of the West such as cultural, social and political institutions and people's manners and customs. They depicted the West and its industrialised civilisation as being the way of the future, the example to be followed and copied by the East, not only with regards to science and technology, but also in the field of social and political systems. Arab thought was experiencing a period of obscurity and change, although change remained very slow following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, when the West revealed its political ambitions in the region. Very little research has been carried out on this initial awakening of Arab intellectual thought and the attitudes towards Westerners at the time. For this reason, this thesis covers the period between 1900 and 1915, examining the first images of the West following the events marking the onset of European imperialism in the Arab world.

Through their novels, Arab writers drew a picture of the West, Westerners and their relationship with 'the Other', i.e.: the East. These depictions can be divided into themes as follows:

8.2 The Image of the West - Men

In the Arab novels studied in this thesis, the West was embodied by the imperialist who took possession of the riches and resources of the native people. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī described the occupier as one who did not respect the weak and who believed that material and military power alone commanded respect. Similarly, the Western man in Amīn al-Rīḥānī's work *Jihān*, is typified by the strong German General who has control over political matters in Istanbul. He is the powerful and civilised superman, the representative of the West; the civilisation of the future as far as Jihān believes at the start of the story. This image, however, falls apart when Jihān becomes aware of this Western man's dishonesty and deception. The General is merely driven by lust and strives to obtain the object of his desire at all costs.

In Tawfīq Mufarrij's novel, the image of Jack is again a negative portrayal of the Westerner. Jack is the divisive influence that prevents reconciliation between Salīm (the East) and Juliet (the West). As a result of Jack's actions, Salīm loses confidence in European thinking and decides to return to the East in order to search for his true identity, turning his back on the West.

On the other hand, in Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf's novel, the West is personified by Henry, the young Englishman who becomes infatuated with the East through a painting of an Oriental girl. He falls in love with Bahiyya whilst in Egypt, yet all this young Englishman really wants is to find a girl who resembles the portrait. He travels to the Middle East and the girl falls

in love with him as if his desire to have a relationship with her is an honour which he has bestowed upon her.

The Western characters portrayed by the four authors are used to represent the aggressive and imperialistic West. Their novels are messages aimed at demanding that the West reconsider its relationship with the East, build a relationship of respect, love and justice, and extend a helping hand to the East, so that the East may catch up with the West in terms of development and modern civilisation.

One interesting observation is the choice of nationalities representing the Western man. In Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf's novel, the Englishman is portrayed as a representative of English glory and its material, technological and political development. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, on the other hand, depicts the Englishman as a heartless imperialist who garners all means of luxury and control. The Lebanese author Amīn al-Rīḥānī and the Syrian Tawfīq Mufarrij both betrayed their hatred for the Ottoman Empire and its negative relationship with the Christians, the Maronite minority in particular. They focused on the German military establishment due to its alliance with the Ottoman Empire, without addressing the West in general. Although Amīn al-Rīḥānī did not really mention the British or the French in his novel, Tawfīq Mufarrij portrayed the French as the complete opposite of the Germans. The French ruler was shown as the compassionate brother who was honoured and respected by the French people. It is, of course, well known that the relationship between the Christians of Syria and France was a very strong one, particularly during that period in history. We can therefore conclude that the Arab writers did not deal with the

West as one consistent block. Their images and attitudes differed from one another due to the existing differences in the relationship between the European countries and Turkey: while Germany was its ally, France and Britain were its enemies, and thus received less criticism from some Levantine authors.

8.3 The Image of the West - Women

The Arab novelists portrayal of the women representing the West is, however, a completely different matter. In Tawfīq Mufarrij's novel, the West is symbolised by the German 'Juliet', with whom Salīm, the protagonist, falls in love. She is an ideal girl, both in terms of looks and character. The author also emphasises her courage and ability to take initiatives, particularly when embarking on a relationship with Salīm, as in the East it is usually the man who takes the first step in courting a woman, while the woman is usually more reserved and timid.

Dora, Henry's sister in Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf's novel is described by the author as someone whose opinions clash with Henry's, particularly with regards to the idea of relationships with people from other cultures. However, the author does not describe her in a negative way; her words are treated as objective statements. Ṣarruf tries to improve Dora's image by giving her the role of someone who offers advice to the people of the East, so that it is able to catch up with Western progress. This, from her point of view, would be achieved through the liberation of women, by granting them their rights, education and equality.

8.4 Eastern Characters and their Interaction with Westerners

The Eastern characters are portrayed with particular emphasis on three distinct aspects which reappear in all the novels studied:

8.4.1 Hypocrisy of Some of The Eastern Characters

It is interesting that in many of the novels studied many Arab characters are depicted as hypocritical, treacherous towards their fellow countrymen or as serving their own interests. In *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy*, a lot of attention is paid by the author to describing the characters who serve the colonialists. These included government officials who facilitated the occupation for the British, and colonised intellectuals such as al-Hilbāwī, who worked against other Egyptians so as to feel more accepted by the West.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī presents Shukrī Bey, Jihān's cousin, as an opportunist who is prepared to do anything to avoid going to war. He goes so far as to ask his fiancée Jihān to talk to the German General due to her close relationship with him.

Jihān's father, Reda Pasha, is different. He wants to preserve his oriental identity and follow the path of his ancestors and protect his daughter from the influence of Western civilisation, especially with regards to women's rights and freedoms. Yet, deep inside, he is fascinated by Western civilisation and the beauty of unveiled women, on condition that this does not take place with his own womenfolk. Certain things are acceptable for others, but he would not find these things acceptable for his own family.

It seems the authors, in portraying such hypocrisy amongst Eastern characters are trying to show that much responsibility for the recession of Eastern development lay with people in the East themselves and that it was they who could turn things around, by changing their attitudes to one another.

8.4.2 Representations of Eastern Society

A marked trend is observed in the works studied of the authors having a negative view of Arab society and its institutions. This is usually complimented with a call to imitate or import Western ideals in Eastern society.

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes Egyptian society as typical of the occupied East, and divides it into three levels. Firstly, there is the level of state officials whose main concern is in serving the occupying powers, providing them with every means of comfort even if that goes against the interests of the native people.

The second level is that of the big landowners and feudal lords who play a role similar to that of the government by serving the occupying powers. By remaining close to the occupier, they manage to obtain more land, effectively stolen from the people by the occupying forces.

The final level is that of the poor, oppressed peasants, the original landowners who on one hand suffer from the injustice of the occupier who steals the country's resources and on the other hand do not get any kind of support or help from the government which is

supported and controlled by the occupying power. They are unable to rely on their government to seek justice against foreign soldiers, big landowners and the occupying power itself.

The lowest classes also have to worry about individuals from amongst them who work for their own personal interests and drive a wedge between them and the occupying power, as illustrated by the character of Aḥmad Zāyid in the novel. Another example is al-Hilbāwī whom Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī describes as an intellectual fascinated by Western culture and who does his utmost to please those representing the West so that they may be satisfied with him and accept him despite his Eastern origin. He is at odds with his Eastern culture which he regards as ignorant, backward and poor.

In the first half of Tawfīq Mufarrij's novel, a clear resentment of the East is evident through the character of Salīm, who associates ignorance, poverty and darkness with the East and admires the development of the West. This attitude changes, however, as a result of the shock he receives when he is wrongly accused and imprisoned by the West which he had admired for so long, just like many others of his country who imagined the West to be the path to happiness and development.

Similarly, Amīn al-Rīḥānī discussed the issue of ignorance in the East, and the need to reform it by granting women their full rights and freedoms. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, while pointing out that the West was tightening its control over the East, emphasises the same issues, and calls for a civilised East in which women are granted their rights and where

women's education and culture are based on Western models and methods. This is so that they may catch up with women in the West and those in other nations that have seen marked development such as Japan.

8.4.3 Depiction of Arab Women

The role of Arab women in the novels is very important. All too often, the female characters play minor roles and are sidelined by the male characters or the Western female characters. But it seems that the Arab female characters play much more of a role when portrayed as Westernised or Western-orientated. For Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, Sitt al-Dār in *The Maiden of Dinshway*, is a symbol of Egypt who should not belong to anyone but her own people, as represented by the simple peasant Muḥammad al-'Abd. Although Sitt al-Dār is the maiden of the novel's title, she does not play a big or significant role in the events of the story. The author uses her as a symbol of Egypt, through events taking place on its soil, namely the Dinshway incident. Likewise, Bahiyya, the title character in *Fatāt Miṣr* (The Maiden of Egypt), does not play a significant role in the novel. Her education and culture are Western-oriented which makes her worthy of being linked with Henry, the Englishman. Bahiyya is like the portrait hanging on the wall in Henry's room. She is quiet, incapable of expressing an opinion or participating in decision-making. All she has to offer is her love for Henry which she expresses as soon as he expresses his love to her. She appears shy, keeping her feelings and emotions to herself, which she is incapable of expressing.

Tawfīq Mufarrij does not handle matters much differently from Ya'qubṢarrūf and Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī. Arab women play little part in his story, and the Western female character even overshadows Salīm, the protagonist of the novel, who is cold, passive and incapable of making decisions, leaving everything to his Western girlfriend, Juliet. He is completely under her control, never taking the initiative and preferring to rely on her instead.

Amīn al-Rīḥānī's approach is different from that of the three other writers. Jihān is the novel's actual heroine, a young woman with a Western education and a keen awareness of Western civilisation. As such, her character is a strong one in the novel. She wants Eastern women to obtain their rights from Eastern men, whose major concern is satisfying their lust and desire within the system of polygamy. She believes that men do not want to give women the freedom to express themselves, but instead want to keep them at home, waiting for their husbands' return, with no active role in society.

The discussion of women's issues is a common theme in all the novels. During my research of novels written between 1900 and 1915 I found more than 28 novels bearing the name of a girl or woman, which is certainly a topic worth investigating.

8.5 The Modern Context

To summarise the points I have concluded from the previous chapters, the Arab novelists concentrated on depicting the West as a strong dominating civilisation with massive energy and immense resources. The novelists tried to portray this idea to their readers,

taking great care to differentiate in their depictions between the aggressive West through its occupying soldiers, and the civilised West with its customs and traditions, acceptance of which these novelists called for, particularly in matters relating to women, freedom of speech, liberation and education. The Arab novelists call for a relationship between an educated East seeking to gain knowledge from a teacher, (the West), a relationship based on respect and friendship for both parties. On the other hand, they reject violence by killing or imprisonment because they are methods that do not lead to bringing different peoples together; rather, they lead to separation and increased animosity.

We can also say that these novels, particularly as they were written during the occupation of the East, mark the beginning of the change in the opinion of the colonised, who were enchanted and fascinated by anything Western and derived all their inspiration and thoughts from the civilisation of the coloniser, as described well in the observations of Frantz Fanon. I would say that this movement embodied the beginning of the trend towards the second stage of the colonised author, as detailed by Fanon, which is the search for the true self and identity. This was very clear in Jihān's character in Amīn al-Rīḥānī's novel, as well as in the character of Salīm in Tawfīq Mufarrij's work. It is true that the depictions alternated between the two stages of admiration of the coloniser's culture and the search for indigenous culture, but we have to take into consideration that these novels were written during a period of political and economical turmoil preceding World War I, which contributed to the obscurity and vagueness in the positions of the novelists towards the West at that time.

The relationship between the East and West is interlinked, governed from the beginning by historical conflicts since the Crusader wars until our present day, while the memories of both parties dictate the images held by each of the other. This relationship is also governed by economical, political and religious differences. All these factors had an extensive impact on the images the East and West had of each other, particularly when these differences were highlighted in the various conflicts, both military or intellectual, which occurred during the age of imperialism.

The time has come now, particularly after the 9/11 incident and the conflicts that followed in Afghanistan and Iraq, to review the knowledge both sides have of the other. The image of the East collapsed in the West with the collapse of the World Trade Centre in New York on 11th September 2001. The reputation that many of the Arab intellectuals have tried to improve and build on in the West has deteriorated and a negative image of the East has been established instead. Similarly in the East, due to the perceived bias of the West in Middle Eastern affairs such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or economic sanctions on Iraq, as well as what are seen as imperialistic policies towards Arab countries, many have an image of the West as a dominant, colonising power. It is true that the West is not a single entity and that it is characterised by diversity, differences, contradictions and conflicts. Opinions of the West, like any other experience formed through human and cultural experiences, tend to narrow the dimensions which have characterised the image of the West. The time has come for Eastern and Western researchers to look for the points where East and West meet and to study the historical relationship between both sides, to increase the understanding of this relationship and to

use the results achieved by these studies in order to build a firmer relationship between both regions. These were the dreams and hopes of the Arab novelists in the period 1900–1915, during the occupation and colonisation of the Arab countries by Western forces.

It is also recommended that we undertake further research into Arabic novels, starting with Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī's work and moving towards our present time, comparing the images of the West with one another with a view to monitoring the development of these images, and discovering whether the view of the West has been stable or has changed. From this, we will be able to present a complete survey of the depiction of the West within the Arabic novel, which is evidently an important component of Arabic culture and thought.

Appendix

Synopses of the Novels studied in this Thesis

1 - *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* (The Maiden of Dinshwāy) by Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī

2 - *Jihān* or *Khārij al-Ḥarīm* by Amīn al-Rīḥānī

3 - *Fatāt Miṣr* (The Maiden of Egypt) by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf

4 - *Ghādat Berlin* (The Maiden of Berlin) by Tawfīq Mufarrij

1 - *'Adhrā' Dinshwāy* (The Maiden of Dinshwāy) by Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī

Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī divides his novel into ten chapters. It is a historic novel recounting an incident, which occurred in Dinshwāy, a small village in the poor Egyptian countryside, whose inhabitants were humiliated, persecuted and in some cases, killed by the British forces of occupation. In his introduction, the author makes clear that the element of love was introduced in the novel to satisfy the readers and prevent any tedium that might develop from the depiction of the bloody events.

The novel tells the story of a young woman of around twenty, named Sitt al-Dār. She is engaged to a young man in the village named Muḥammad al-'Abd. However, another man named Aḥmad Zāyid has his sights set on her and decides to marry her. He employs all possible means to win the heart of Sitt al-Dār, at times gentleness, other times violence, with no consideration for the fact that she is engaged to Muḥammad al-'Abd.

The villagers had the habit of meeting every evening to discuss farming and other everyday matters and to listen to the epics of Abu Zayd al-Hilālī and 'Antarā. But on that evening the most important topic was the arrival of British soldiers in their village to shoot pigeons. Pigeon husbandry was one of the villagers' few sources of gain. The British had the habit of killing large numbers of pigeons and intimidating the peasants with the sounds of their gunshots, frightening adults, children and cattle alike. The villagers repeatedly complained to the province officer, only to find him eager to evade responsibility, giving them false promises to solve the problem. A few days later, some British soldiers arrive to shoot pigeons in close proximity to the village houses, ignoring the possibility that a bullet may hit one of the villagers. As it happens, a bullet does hit a woman called Mabrūka, killing her before her husband's

eyes. The neighbours and other village inhabitants gather around the husband. Upon seeing the congregation, one British soldier believes that they are coming to kill him, and shoots at the crowd, killing three villagers. The villagers react in outrage, and start throwing stones at the British soldiers. Following a scuffle between the British soldiers and some villagers, the British realise the weak position they are in. They escape to the nearest police station, leaving behind one wounded soldier called Paul, who later dies of thirst. The people of the village gather in panic, apprehensive of the expected retaliation of the British. They start blaming one another, and Ahmad Zāyid seizes the opportunity to threaten Sitt al-Dār that if she does not accept him as her husband he would set her father up, telling the province officers that he was the one who attacked the British. At first, Sitt al-Dār agrees, but the father rejects Ahmad Zāyid's threats, insisting that Sitt al-Dār should not break off her engagement with Moḥammed al-'Abd.

Aḥmad Zāyid carries out his threat, and the old Sheikh, together with other villagers, is taken to jail, and awaits trial. A mock court is set up; a number of the accused receive death sentences, while others are sentenced to penal servitude for life and others to 15 years in prison.

The author concludes his novel with the emotional scene in which the executions are carried out, in the presence of Sitt al-Dār who bewails her father. At that point the author implores future generations to remember the events of Dinshway, and prays for mercy and forgiveness for the souls of its people.

2 - *Jihān* or *Kharij al-Ḥarīm* by Amīn al-Rīḥānī

The incidents in the novel *Jihān* or *Khārij al-Ḥarīm* (Outside the Harem) centre around the life of a Turkish girl called Jihān, a Muslim by religious beliefs, but with a modern view on life. Jihān is the daughter of Riḍa Pasha, one of the prominent public figures and an important political personality in Turkey. She had divorced Prince Sayf al-dīn, whom she had abandoned in his castle on the banks of the river Bosphorus because he had broken his oath to her by bringing another woman into his life. Her ambitions were embodied in reaching out towards freedom, based on Islamic principles, which meant abandoning some of the dominant Eastern traditions and beliefs of the time and embracing some of the developments of the West. Her father, Riḍa Pasha, tried to prevent her from going out, but she always found means of getting in touch with the outside world as an aristocratic daughter, who had her own sophisticated customs and traditions. In order to maximise her freedom and movement in society, she carried out various activities; she was a journalist and a worker in one of the hospitals, a lecturer in forums and schools and a flower vendor in one of the charity markets. Two lovers were competing over her: her cousin, Shukrī Bey, an officer in the Turkish army, and a German officer who belonged to the forces present in Turkey during World War I, who benefited from wide political influence. Jihān was hesitant over which of the two she should choose; on the one hand, she longed for the East and for Islam, and found her comfort in Shukrī, while on the other hand she admired the West and all its modern developments, embodied in the German General Von Wallenstein.

Her hesitation in choosing a partner continued until she finally found some determination deep within her; she refused Shukrī because he offered her his devotion to the detriment of his national duty, and she favoured the General because he was a

Westerner who wanted both the East and the West to intermarry and produce offspring of both worlds as a result. Despite the fact she also desired a meeting of both civilisations, she refused the idea of marriage and announced that she was married to freedom. Her delay in responding to General Von Wallenstein's offer was an indication of his ability to make her surrender to him for so long. He tried to distance her cousin Shukrī from Istanbul, and also tried to justify her brother's death at the hands of one of the German officers in one of the battles against the Allies. He also had her father interred in prison, in order to force her towards him in return for her father's release. He intended to kill her cousin, alleging that he had threatened to kill him, and to execute her father, planning to claim that he had committed suicide in his prison cell. The truth would be revealed to Jihān, but only when it was too late. She was compelled to save her cousin and her father by appeasing the General, who promised her that they would be safe only if she married him or became his mistress. After a series of monologues and hesitations, Jihān became a victim to the General's conspiracies and agreed to go to bed with him. Feeling bitterly guilty for what she had done, she still felt a glimmer of hope that she may be able to save her father from imprisonment if the General kept his promise. But the General did not fulfil his oath - he killed Jihān's father, because he had got what he desired from her. She found out about the General's intentions but she ignored her intuition, and tried to seduce him and persuade him to come to her home. She eventually influenced him and had the opportunity to stab him with one of the antique swords that belonged to her father. By carrying out such an act, Jihān concluded, symbolically, the true nature of possible East-West relations and integration.

3 - *Fatāt Miṣr* (The Maiden of Egypt) by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf

The novel begins in London, where we first meet Henry and Dora, the son and daughter of Mr. Edward Brown, the owner of the *London News*. They are preparing to embark on a year-long exploration trip to the East, starting in Egypt and moving on to Japan. Their father agrees to this trip on condition that they are on this trip for the benefit of the Empire and for his own personal interests as a newspaper proprietor. That would be achieved by sending him reports of what they see on their trip, and also through working on encouraging land development in Egypt, for the purpose of cotton plantations, to enable them to withstand American market domination that had brought havoc to the Lancashire factories. In addition to this, it would resist the Russian influx into Japan.

Before his trip, Henry dreamt of a beautiful and charming Eastern girl calling him to look for her in the East because she was destined for him. In Egypt, Henry met the girl of his dreams. She was Bahiyya, the daughter of Wāṣif Bey, a rich Coptic Egyptian. The story finished with him marrying her after his return to Egypt from Japan; his return from Japan resulted in the ship carrying him and his sister sinking and with him miraculously surviving the accident. Their marriage took place in the Egyptian Coptic church with the blessings of the bride's parents, and his, who went over to Egypt when they heard of the sinking of their children's ship. The novel finishes with this happy ending.

The novel contained good descriptions of the Egyptian environment and conditions at the time, and news of the war between Russia and Japan at the turn of the last century. This was in addition to the actions of the different countries and their various conspiracies, which indicate the author's analysis of the events, and his preoccupation with what was going on around him in international affairs.

4 - *Ghādat Berlin* by Tawfiq Mufarrij

The protagonist in *Ghādat Berlin* (The Maiden of Berlin), a young Levantine man called Salīm, fell in love with a German girl called Juliet whilst in Berlin, and after a series of mishaps and incidents the relationship ends in marriage.

The novel begins with Salīm's journey from Syria via Beirut to Europe, where he travelled until he reached Berlin. He admired its magnificent buildings and was fascinated by Western culture. By chance, he met a beautiful girl called Juliet and they fell in love. At this time, in 1870, war broke out between Germany and France. Juliet's father and two brothers and also her fiancée Edmond went to join the war to defend Germany, and she seized the opportunity of their absence to meet her lover Salīm. However, there was another person who was waiting for a chance like this to seek Juliet's love; Jack, who worked as a police inspector. He paid her a visit, claiming that he was her father's friend. Juliet and her mother had a sense of distrust towards Jack, and the mother turned him away courteously during one of his visits. He felt anger, and realised that there was another person competing with him to earn Juliet's love. So he consulted one of his friends, Henry, who promised to investigate the matter and to reveal the truth. After watching Juliet's house, Henry discovered that a man called Salīm was paying visits to her. Jack then arranged a plot accusing Salīm of being a spy for France, whose intentions were to bring the Syrians close to the French during that period. Salīm stayed in prison until the war ended with the victory of Germany over France, then Jack allowed his release from prison only after Salīm had vowed never to return to Germany, fearing his plot might be revealed. So Salīm headed for France along with a group of French soldiers, telling them that he was a spy for the French during the war. The soldiers then informed the French governor

about him and the governor ennobled him and treated him like a brother. After some time, Salīm decided to leave France so no one could reveal his false allegations of being a spy. He urged the governor to allow him to travel back to his country, Syria. The governor gave him permission to leave after giving him a large sum of money and a letter to the French Consul in his country Syria, recommending that they honour him.

As for Juliet, every day she went to the place where they used to meet, hoping to meet Salīm, not knowing the reason for his absence until she heard about the French spy in Berlin. She didn't care for that matter and she didn't realise that this 'spy' was her lover until she received a letter from Jack telling her about Salīm, revealing his love and passion for her and threatening to expose her to her father if she did not comply with his wishes. Juliet tore up the letter, overcome with sadness and became extremely ill. Jack took advantage of her illness and told her father about her affair after he came back from his journey. Her father was very angry with her but due to her illness was not able to reproach her. Juliet recovered from her illness after a period of time and her father had the chance to talk to her. She defended herself and her love, and she told him that Jack was the kind of person who was driven only by his desire and passion for her. She also told him about the letter and how Jack had tried to blackmail her. Eventually her father persuaded her to marry Edmond in return for his forgiveness. She resisted initially, but finally consented to his proposal and persistence and actually went to church to be wed. However, in a tragic turn of events, Jack killed Edmond and then committed suicide, fulfilling the prophecy he had written to Juliet that he would be a martyr for the sake of love. Juliet could not bear to live with the fact that two lives had been sacrificed for the sake of her love, so she led

an ascetic life in a convent as a nun, in order to be granted remission for the sins she had committed towards those who had loved her. She eventually decided to leave for the Holy Land to purify herself from her sins at the holy grave.

As for Salīm, he finally went back to his country and found that his father had grown old and his mother had died grieving over him. His father asked him to marry, and Salīm opposed him at first, but finally complied with his father's wishes on condition that he could first visit the Holy Land to ask for forgiveness for having to breach his vow to marry Juliet. By a good turn of fate, the two lovers met and were reunited, and Juliet returned with him to his village. They married and lived a happy and prosperous life together.

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